A POLITICAL HISTORY of the EDITIONS of MARX and ENGELS'S "GERMAN IDEOLOGY MANUSCRIPTS"

★ TERRELL CARVER & DANIEL BLANK ★

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Introduction

This volume is based on a successful Bristol PhD dissertation presented by Daniel Blank in 2008, " 'The German ideology' by Marx and Engels: The Political History of the Manuscript and Its Published Editions," supervised by Terrell Carver. These chapters explain how untitled manuscript materials, cast aside by the authors after 1847, unexpectedly emerged in the 1920s as a one-volume work of the first rank in the Marx-Engels-Marxist canon.

All major editions and translations of *The German Ideology* up to the present are then shown to have a political history relating to some of the most important events of the twentieth century, including the Russian Revolution, the rise of Stalinism, fascist rule in Germany, World War II, the subsequent Cold War involving the Soviet Union and rival regimes in "East" and "West," the fall of communist states in Eastern Europe, and the influence of successor capitalist regimes. These histories unfold, sometimes quite dramatically, in relation to a critical analysis of editorial practice, resulting in a genealogy of editions up to the present day.

The volume concludes with a statement of what would be required, *contra* current practice even within the *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe* (MEGA) project, in order to present a fully contextual rendition of the various polemics on which Marx and Engels (and others) were engaged in 1845–46.

Note that in the text Russian names are translated to usual English forms, whereas the bibliography follows German transliterations that are appropriate to the work cited, for example, Ryazanov and Trotsky in the text, and Rjazanov and Trotzki in the bibliography. In addition, there are three scholarly appendices presenting the results of detailed research on various questions concerning the "German ideology" manuscripts and the genealogical relationships among major editions, notes on method and methodology, and an index. The volume represents a fully coauthored and integrated work throughout.

The companion volume by the present authors, *Marx and Engels's "German ideology" Manuscripts: Presentation and Analysis of the "Feuerbach chapter,"* also published by Palgrave Macmillan, undertakes a textual exercise unique in English. It presents a "variant-rich" transcription of the most famous and widely read of the surviving manuscript pages, along with an analytical investigation of the content from a historically refreshed perspective.

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Chapter One
Manuscripts and Politics

The German Ideology (so-called), edited from manuscripts of 1845 to 1846, has often been regarded as one of the most outstanding "books" ever written by Karl Heinrich Marx (1818–83) and Friedrich Engels (1820–95) (see Libretti, 1998: 61). It has been said to represent "the first recognisable 'Marxist' work" by the two authors (Arthur, 1982a: 4). It has also been labeled "the first mature work of Marxism" (Churbanov, 1976a: XIII). Its content has been praised as the "first document of dialectical-materialist philosophy of society and its history" and even as the "birth certificate of the world view of Marx and Engels" (Kopf, 2001: 1). According to the popular *Marx-Engels Collected Works*, English-language edition, "It was in *The German Ideology* that the materialist conception of history, historical materialism, was first formulated as an integral theory" (Churbanov, 1976a: XIII). In particular, the first chapter "I. Feuerbach" of *The German Ideology* was considered "to mark a 'break' in Marx's intellectual and doctrinal development" (O'Malley, 1994: xiv). It is in this "first chapter" that one supposedly finds "a general introduction expounding the materialist conception of history" (Churbanov, 1976a: XVII).

However, at the same time, one can find statements conveying a completely different picture of what *The German Ideology* is all about. Here commentators have argued that a "book" entitled *The German Ideology* "had never really existed" (Kellerhoff, 2004). They have also maintained that the time that Marx and Engels spent producing the 1845–46 manuscripts "was most of all a time of summarising and securing knowledge hitherto obtained" (Landshut, 2004a: 56). Furthermore, neither the title "The German Ideology" nor the crucial terms "materialist conception of history" or "historical materialism" can be found anywhere in the original manuscripts that form what has come to be known as *The German Ideology* (IMES, 2004: 7*).

What has been said about *The German Ideology* in general has also been said about its much-discussed "first chapter." Some authors have claimed that "the Feuerbach-part of *The German Ideology* does not exist at all" and that "its title Feuerbach is misleading, since remarks on Feuerbach . . . are only marginal" (Koltan, 1995: 5; 2002: 121). The so-called Feuerbach manuscripts have been described as "a masterpiece of

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synthesis in which every one of Marx's earlier insights . . . is preserved" (O'Malley, 1994: xiv).

The peculiar conflict, outlined earlier, centers on the history and content of what is known to us as *The German Ideology* and has also given birth to its own historical development. A long and complex history of editions of *The German Ideology*, variously founded on quite different principles, has gone unnoticed and therefore not studied until this volume (for a comprehensive bibliography of editions, see appendix A). In addition, passionate disputes—mainly among editors—about how to edit *The German Ideology* properly are reflected to some extent in the Marxological literature reviewed in this chapter. However, the apocryphal character of *The German Ideology* has remained a well-kept secret (until Carver, 2010) for most of today's readers of this outstanding work of nineteenth-century political prose.

Even those readers who are more familiar with writings by Marx and Engels are often surprised when they learn that the weighty "book" they have just bought in their local bookshop was never actually published by the two authors themselves. What they perceive as an authentic work by Marx and Engels is in fact a literary collage constructed by editors from an odd collection of manuscripts many decades after they were produced. In this sense, *The German Ideology* is in line with several other famous "books," such as Friedrich Nietzsche's *Will to Power* (1968), Jakob Burckhardt's *Reflections on History* (1943), and Max Weber's *Economy and Society* (1978) (see Kellerhoff, 2004).

Ever since the (so-called) chapter "I. Feuerbach" was published for the first time in its original German in 1926, *The German Ideology* has been reedited in at least ten different ways, and it has been translated into many languages, including Russian, English, French, Spanish, Chinese, and Japanese. No fewer than 20 of these interesting and imaginative editions will be discussed in the following chapters. However, in this volume the complex history of editions of *The German Ideology* provides only the framework for something that is of much greater scholarly interest.

In this book we set ourselves the task of going beyond the mere collection of historical data and the lining up of "dead facts" (Marx and Engels, 2004: 116). Here we search for the human beings behind the editions. We explore the reasons, motives, and passions that the many different editors have had for publishing *The German Ideology* in precisely the ways that they did. We are convinced that the history of these editions must be studied as a "political history," a history that is deeply embedded in the heroic struggles and bitter defeats of twentieth-century politics (for a distinction between a "political history" and a "history of politics," see chapter 2).

As we will see, the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* is one in which we can find not only solidarity, hope, and revolutionary spirit, but also murder, betrayal, and political intrigue. It is almost like a crime thriller. The range of historical events stretches all the way from the Weimar Republic and the Soviet Union under J. V. Stalin to the end of the so-called Cold War and the reign of global capitalism. From the split within the organized workers' movement in the 1920s to the atrocities of German fascism, from the prison-camp execution of the

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first editor of *The German Ideology* to the second "Praxis Discussion" in the German Democratic Republic (former East Germany or the DDR), and from the generation of 1968 to the "global war on terror"—this is exactly the historical scope of the present research. In short, the narrative of the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* is essentially the narrative of the twentieth century. As we will witness throughout the following chapters, advances in editing *The German Ideology* were either hindered or furthered by the political relations under which the editors (and also the readers) lived and worked.

However, in order not to get lost in the great diversity of historical and political events, we are compelled to raise only those questions that will lead to significant new findings and insights concerning the entire political history of editions of *The German Ideology*. Moreover, this volume also considers a question of great significance and interest: should *The German Ideology* be presented in such a way that its content serves as a source of information and inspiration for a broad readership of the general public, or should it be published in such a way that its content provides scientific insight for intellectuals researching the historical background, the formal chronology of the manuscripts, and the question of authorship?

Historically, there have been two major strands of thinking in answering this question. On the one hand, there are those editors who aim at utilizing the writings of Marx and Engels for propaganda among the working class and a "left-leaning" general public. According to them, editions of *The German Ideology* should contain a smooth and logically structured text, providing a broad readership with easy access to a "desperately needed scientific worldview" (Gemkow, 1981: 73). On the other hand, there are those editors who are mostly concerned with scientific accuracy when publishing historical documents. To them, it is imperative that the 1845–46 manuscripts be published in a "historical-critical" and "scientific" fashion, regardless of whether or not the result is at all readable. The latter approach led to editions of *The German Ideology* that are edited by and intended for a Marxological elite only.

Whoever wants to find an answer to this evaluative question also needs to ask three further questions. Depending on how various editors answered these three questions, they can be counted as being on either side of the historical conflict. It is particularly by their answers to these three questions that one can distinguish the two strands in the political history of editions of *The German Ideology*. The three further questions are:

- Does *The German Ideology* provide some form of systematic formulation of the (so-called) materialist conception of history/historical materialism?
- Do Marx and Engels speak in a single voice in general and through this text in particular, and, therefore, are there no significant intellectual or ideological differences between the two?
- Is it possible to reconstruct the manuscripts so that an edition of "last hand" can be published, that is, as the authors were thinking at the last point before abandonment?

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Through our research into the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*, we substantiate our firm conviction that it is indeed possible finally to overcome the historical conflict as to how correctly to publish the 1845–46 manuscripts by Marx and Engels. By foregoing the obscure "logic" that has been applied by former editors in arranging the 1845–46 manuscripts, readers will discover a much deeper logic: the logic of the intellectual development of Marx and Engels in 1845–46. By systematically exposing schematic interpretations of the content of *The German Ideology*, we retrieve nothing less than the fresh, energetic, and revolutionary insights that Marx and Engels provided in their unique "conception of history" (*Geschichtsauffassung*) (Marx and Engels, 2004: 27, 28). In our opinion, further research into the political history of editions of *The German Ideology* will ultimately prove that there is no necessary contradiction between historical accuracy and readability, between scientific meticulousness and contemporary "left-leaning" politics. Only if one gains new and instructive knowledge through historical and textual research on the entire political history of editions of *The German Ideology* will it then become possible to prepare a fully revised historical-critical edition, which will not only be a genuine source of information and inspiration to a broad readership, but will also provide this readership with a revitalized understanding of how Marx and Engels's "conception of history" can be utilized to their benefit.

The structure of the present volume is as follows.

In chapter 2, we distinguish clearly between a mere history of editions—which is of minor importance to this research—and a political history of editions. The latter began, according to our analysis, in 1921. In this context, we also provide an overview of all those parts of the 1845–46 manuscripts that were published either during Marx's and Engels's lifetimes or before the early 1920s. Having done this, we thoroughly investigate the political history behind two editions of *The German Ideology*, the ones that were published in 1921 and 1926. By closely examining several articles and prefaces that were written by well-known editors, such as Gustav Mayer and David Ryazanov, it becomes possible to trace an evolving struggle between "orthodox" communists and "opportunist" social democrats. As part of our in-depth look at the first edition of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts (1926), we also stress that its editor, Ryazanov, advocated a schematic "conception of history." In this context, we not only touch on questions of authorship, but also discuss several problems relating to the presentation of manuscript works as printed texts.

In chapter 3, we begin by providing a brief account of major historical events in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. This is the time of J. V. Stalin's rise to power and, at the same time, the end of Ryazanov's work as editor on what is known to us as *The German Ideology*. However, in chapter 3, we demonstrate on the basis of historical documents that Ryazanov's influence on the 1932 MEGA1 (Adoratskii) edition of *The German Ideology* was far more significant than has been generally acknowledged by present-day scholars. In the context of this historical analysis, we also expose the origins of political doctrines such as the "materialist conception of history" and "historical materialism." After scrutinizing the first "historical-critical" edition of *The German Ideology*, published in volume I/5 of MEGA1 (1932), we argue that

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the Adoratskii edition applied "logical" reasoning about content where historical and chronological accuracy would have secured sounder and more defensible reproduction instead. In this sense, we contend that the 1932 Adoratskii edition of the 1845–46 manuscripts has about the same value as the 1926 Ryazanov edition.

In chapter 4, we further elaborate on some of the ideas introduced in chapter 3. This is possible because the 1932 Landshut and Mayer edition of *The German Ideology*, which had already been discussed at the end of chapter 3, resurfaced again in West Germany in 1953. This first "Cold War" edition is of particular importance because it provides us with a good example of how the struggle between capitalist and socialist societies has left its mark on editions of *The German Ideology*. The 1953 Landshut edition was often eulogized as an edition that allegedly proved that Marx's "humanism" had been largely suppressed in so-called orthodox communist literature. Then, after reviewing a sequence of historical events, including the death of Stalin in 1953 and the twentieth Party Conference of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union) in 1956, we also examine the hitherto most popular German-language edition of what is known to us as *The German Ideology*: the East German *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition of 1958. This episode marks a point at which we make visible the links between the answers to the three bulleted questions raised earlier and the major political oppositions through which rival editions of *The German Ideology* have been produced and have circulated in immediate postwar times.

In chapter 5, we show in detail how lost manuscript pages, which were discovered by Siegfried Bahne in 1962, led to new editions of *The German Ideology*. However, in this case the decisive political dimension of the history of editions becomes clearly visible when we compare a Soviet edition of 1965 with an East German edition of 1966. Although by the late 1950s East German editors had already started cautiously to emancipate themselves from the way that the 1845–46 manuscripts had been edited previously by Soviet Marxologists, the whole process really gained momentum in the second half of the 1960s. In order to explore fully the crucial interrelation between editions and interpretations, it is necessary to review the so-called second "Praxis Discussion," which was triggered by the 1966 East German *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition of *The German Ideology*. In particular, a highly controversial keynote article by Helmut Seidel, drawing several provocative conclusions from the 1966 edition, attracted much attention on both sides of the "Iron Curtain."

In chapter 6, we begin by formulating an interim assessment of mid-1960s knowledge of the history of the origins of what has become known to us as *The German Ideology*. This short reprise not only helps to summarize important knowledge about the history of the origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts, but also allows us to identify scholarly advances in the subsequently published literature dealing with the same topic. By also taking a close look at C. J. Arthur's English-language edition of 1970, we provide yet another example of the extent to which editors are influenced by prevailing political ideologies (in this case Maoism and anarchism). As a landmark in the political history of editions of the 1970s, we then discuss both positive and negative aspects of the 1972 MEGA2 "Probeband" edition. At the end of this

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chapter, we return to our interim assessment in order to evaluate the game-changing exposition of the history of the origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts undertaken by Galina Golowina in 1980.

In chapter 7, we focus on the end of East European communism and the impact of global politics on the planned volume I/5 of MEGA2. In order to do this, we, first of all, recall the history of MEGA2 prior to the crucial years 1989–91. After that, we provide evidence of the deep-rooted opportunism among prominent East German editors by analyzing the contents of several of their articles that were written shortly before and shortly after the so-called *Wende*, the fall of communist regimes there and elsewhere. In the second half of the chapter, we also illustrate the internationalization of the MEGA2 project, which began in 1990. By reviewing the outcomes of two international conferences (held in 1990 and 1996), we explain how these foundations for a new historical-critical edition of the 1845–46 manuscripts were laid. The scholarly achievements of Fumio Hattori, Wataru Hiromatsu, Masato Kobayashi, and Tadashi Shibuya, who all published their own separate editions of *The German Ideology* in Japan, are also discussed in this chapter with regard to the second bulleted question concerning authorial voice(s).

In chapter 8, we take an in-depth look at one of the most celebrated publications of the Internationale Marx-Engels-Stiftung, Amsterdam, the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition of *The German Ideology* (2004). By doing so, it becomes possible not only to evaluate the results of over a decade of the most intensive editorial work, but also to prepare the ground for our final chapter in which we draw conclusions, which derive from the shortcomings of this latest German-language edition of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts. In this chapter, therefore, we investigate in particular the political intentions behind the publisher's desire to dedicate the edition entirely to an academic audience, rather than to a broader reading public. In this context, we also expose a certain political ideology that disguises itself as being "post-ideological," by analyzing the specific (class-)interests of its promoters. Finally, we present the main points at issue, as they were discussed in several newspaper articles that followed the publication of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* in April 2004.

In chapter 9, we summarize the many results of this research on the political history of editions of *The German Ideology*. We present a number of conclusions drawn from the political history of the editions that strongly support our view that it is in principle possible to produce a thoroughly revised and defensible historical-critical edition of the 1845–46 manuscripts for a broad audience of general readers. We then give three examples of how particular editions of the 1845–46 manuscripts led to three major scholarly advances, and how these three advances have made a new and fully revised historical-critical edition inevitable. In a very last step, we put forward our own ideas for editing the 1845–46 manuscripts in a "contextual" way that finally overcomes both the flaws of the "logical" and the "chronological" arrangements of the past. Our proposed—and as yet hypothetical—"contextual edition" will be not only a genuine source of information and inspiration to a broad readership, but will also provide this readership with a revitalized understanding of how Marx and Engels's "conception of history" can be utilized to their benefit.

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Chapter Two
The 1920s: Early Political Disputes over *The German Ideology*

In this chapter, we commence by listing all those editions of the 1845–46 manuscripts that were published before the "political history" of editions began in 1921. After that, we thoroughly investigate the political history behind two editions of *The German Ideology* that were published by Mayer and Ryazanov in 1921 and 1926, respectively.

A Short Account of Manuscripts Published before the 1920s

A text, whether it has explicit political content or not, can have a "political history" if it sparks political actions of some sort before or after its publication. The simplest form of such political action is a developing discussion about its content in relation to political affairs in general. If there is politically charged controversy over a historical text, then it becomes likely that over a certain period of time a political history of editions can be observed. In sharp contrast to this there are certain writings that simply have a history without any political impact on society at large or even on the few specialists in its very field. Even these texts could become subject to a history of editions, although not to a political history of editions. This is exactly what happened to what is known to us as *The German Ideology* in the years between 1845 and 1921.

There were several attempts by its authors to have the 1845–46 manuscripts published as a whole or even in parts. They succeeded in publishing at least some of it during their lifetimes, and some other parts were published later on by Peter von Struve (1870–1944) and Eduard Bernstein (1850–1932). But even if there was a political intention behind publishing and republishing this text over many years, there is no recorded evidence that it triggered some form of political chain reaction comparable to its political impact from the 1920s onward (see Chung, 1998: 33; Taubert, 1990: 54–5).

However, at this point, it is important to provide a short overview of the history of the editions of *The German Ideology* before the 1920s. There are only three

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publications of smaller parts of the 1845–46 manuscripts that were printed while Marx and Engels were still alive.

The first evidence of publication can be found in the journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (Mirror to society) of January 1846 (no. VII, second volume) (Marx, 1971: 6–8). The content of this anonymously published "note" is partially identical with passages from the critique "*II. Sankt Bruno*" of the "first volume" of what became known as *The German Ideology*. Although the "note" was untitled, scholarly literature refers to it as "*Gegen Bruno Bauer*" (Against Bruno Bauer). This title was taken from the table of contents of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*. Furthermore, the most recent research claims that Marx must be identified as the sole author of this short article against Bruno Bauer (1809–82) (IMES, 2004: 157–8; see chapter 8 in this volume).

The second evidence of publication during the lifetimes of Marx and Engels can be found in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (German-Brussels-newspaper) of September 12 and 16, 1847 (no. 73 and 74). This article, which was also published anonymously, was entitled "*Karl Beck: 'Lieder vom armen Mann,' oder die Poesie des wahren Sozialismus*" (Karl Beck: "Songs of the poor man," or the poetry of true socialism) (see Engels, 1959b: 207–22). It is believed that Engels alone authored this critique of Karl Isidor Beck (1817–79) and that it initially formed a part of the "second volume" of what is known to us as *The German Ideology* (Taubert, 1998a: 33; Röllig, 1989: 110–25).

The third publication is the longest one of the three; it was printed in the journal *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* (The Westphalian steam packet) in August and September 1847 (3rd year, issue no. 8 and 9) (Marx, 1972: 439–63, 505–25). The title of this unsigned article by Marx was "*Karl Grün: Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien (Darmstadt 1847) oder Die Geschichtsschreibung des wahren Sozialismus*" (Karl Grün: The social movement in France and Belgium [Darmstadt 1847] or the historiography of true socialism). According to the appendix of the German-language *Marx-Engels-Werke*, its content is identical with that of "chapter IV of volume II. of the 'German Ideology' " (IMLSED, 1958a: 548).

A detailed description of how and when exactly Marx and Engels finished their work on the 1845–46 manuscripts, and how and when they tried to publish them, will be given later on in this volume, since it was subject to scholarly debate over many years. This also applies to the question whether works by other authors, such as Moses Heß (1812–75), should be counted as part of what became known as *The German Ideology* (see chapters 6–9).

In addition to the publications that appeared while Marx and Engels were still alive, there were only a few more until the 1920s. The first one can be found in the journal *Die Neue Zeit* (New times), volume two of 1896. Here Peter von Struve republished several sections of the aforementioned 1847 article on Karl Grün (1817–87) (see Struve, 1896: 48–55). Shortly after, in 1899 and 1900, the editor and journalist Bernstein made the entire chapter IV ("Karl Grün") available to the readership of *Die Neue Zeit* (see Marx, 1899/1900). Between 1903 and 1904, Bernstein also published larger sections of "III. Sankt Max" (III. Saint Max) in his *Documente des Socialismus* (Documents of socialism) (see Marx and Engels,

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1968a–e). At that time, Bernstein did not have much idea about the relationship between Marx and Engels's criticism of Max Stirner (1806–56) and the other parts of what became known as *The German Ideology* (Rjazanov, 1926a: 207). In 1904, Bernstein suddenly stopped any further publication without comment (Marx and Engels, 2004: 8*). Ten years went by until, in 1913, he decided to publish another small section called "*Mein Selbstgenuß*" (My self-enjoyment). This was also part of "III. Sankt Max" and was printed both in the *Arbeiter-Feuilleton* (*Workers-Feature*) and in the *Unterhaltungsblatt des Vorwärts* (entertainment section of the journal *Forward*) (see Marx and Engels, 1913a, 1913b).

Gustav Mayer and the Publication of Parts of "Das Leipziger Konzil" in 1921

The political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* began with the publication of manuscripts that resurfaced in the 1920s, about 75 years after they were committed to paper by their late authors. It all started in August 1921 when Gustav Mayer (1871–1948) published some important parts of "*Das Leipziger Konzi*l" (The Leipzig Council), which commented on material in the third volume of *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift* (Wigand's quarterly). These excerpts from the manuscripts appeared in the German periodical *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (Archive for social sciences and social politics) edited by Edgar Jaffé (1866–1921) in association with better-known theorists such as Werner Sombart (1863–1941), Max Weber (1864–1920), and Joseph Alois Schumpeter (1883–1950). Contributions came from authors such as Walter Benjamin (1892–1940), Franz Oppenheimer (1864–1943), and, of course, Gustav Mayer.

Mayer argues in his foreword to the published excerpts that what he calls a "world-crisis" is reflected in contemporary confusion over general conceptions of history. In his opinion, it was high time for a revival of the "economic conception of history" as it had allegedly been put forward by Marx and Engels. According to Mayer, "proper science" could not just ignore the theoretical achievements of Marx and Engels anymore. And since they had not left a systematic account of their teachings, finding answers to the question of how and when they had arrived at their "materialist" theory would be of even greater importance. It was the aim of Mayer (1971: 773), as a historian, to contribute to this revival of Marx and Engels.

What were Mayer's precise reasons for retrieving parts of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" at this particular moment? On the one hand, there is the fact that these fragments of what has become known to us as *The German Ideology* had not previously been published, but on the other hand, several other interesting works by Marx and Engels had not yet been published either. After the suicide of Marx's daughter Laura Lafargue (1845–1911), who had inherited many writings by Marx, these papers were simply stored away in the archives of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) in Berlin. Public interest in hitherto unpublished manuscripts had been low, and the simple fact that something was authored by Marx or Engels would not all by itself have justified its publication in the early years of the twentieth century (Hobsbawm,

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1998: 8–9). However, Mayer must have had his reasons as to why he deliberately chose to present these particular parts of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" to his readers at the beginning of the 1920s. In order to illuminate the historical background of the situation, one has to take a closer look at the political spectrum within the SPD at the time.

Interestingly, almost all of the manuscripts that became known as *The German Ideology* were not in the archives of the SPD, but in the hands of Bernstein, who administered the manuscripts and unpublished works of the late Friedrich Engels. Only the short introduction to "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" and the critique of Bauer ("*II. Sankt Bruno*"), as an integral part of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," were exceptions, due to the efforts of Franz Mehring, a party leftist, who had been instructed by the SPD in 1898 to publish an edition of the so-called early writings of Marx and Engels. According to a statement by David Borisovich Ryazanov (1870–1938), the eventual first publisher and editor of larger sections of *The German Ideology* in 1924/1926, Mehring had asked for all the manuscript materials that have become *The German Ideology* from Bernstein but had failed to get them. Bernstein was evasive in his response, and in order to get rid of Mehring, Bernstein offered him only the aforementioned parts of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*." Ryazanov assumed that political differences between the "revisionist" Bernstein and the more "orthodox" Mehring would have played a role here (Koltan, 2002: 125; Ryazanov, 1925: 387).

Although Bernstein had already published some of the manuscripts of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" dealing with Stirner in his *Documente des Socialismus* (1903–1904), he was not eager to make the whole of the manuscripts accessible to the then uninterested public (see Marx and Engels, 1968a–e). But in 1921, Mayer had a different view of this matter and described publication as "essential" and a "scientifically worthwhile undertaking." Furthermore, Mayer (1971: 775) insisted that, in sharp contrast to the times during which Marx and Engels had wanted to publish their writings (now editorially collected under the title *The German Ideology*), the work would in the 1920s be very likely to find a publisher without any problems. Therefore, the political landscape and editorial interests must have changed dramatically between the two periods.

A manuscript that once could not successfully find a publisher, although it dealt with persons and theories much better known to readers of the 1840s than of the 1920s, was now, almost three generations later, welcomed and highly anticipated. Mayer (1971: 781) even warned readers of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" that its polemic was outdated and would not meet "contemporary fashion" and that they might get tired of reading it. However, Mayer still seemed to value the deeper political message of this tiny fragment of the 1845–46 manuscripts, because he felt it was important and up-to-date enough to make publication a priority over many other works by Marx and Engels still lying unexamined in the archives of the SPD or being administered by Bernstein.

Several times in his foreword of 1921 Mayer (1971: 781) drew the attention of the reader to textual features of the manuscripts and put emphasis on the fact that "Marx and Engels felt called upon to drum emphatically into the heads of these German

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intellectuals, for whom the difference between theory and praxis had become hopelessly indistinct, that victories in the field of philosophical critique are far from being real victories of the revolution." Mayer called this the "general tendency" of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" and of the so-called *German Ideology* manuscripts as a whole (see chapter 4 for a discussion of the exact point at which the unedited manuscripts had acquired this title as a proto-"book"). If the reader reflects on this general tendency while reading the published text, then he or she will gain an "instructive insight into the workshop of so-called historical materialism," according to Mayer.

Mayer (1971: 781) viewed "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" as political writing that would allow readers of the early 1920s to learn the difference between hollow philosophical and political phrase mongering, on the one hand, and real factors of history and historical change—such as "the potato rot, the construction of railways, the call for a constitution, the abolition of the English corn laws"—on the other. According to Mayer, the importance of this text—parts of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*"—lay in the fact that Marx and Engels had developed an understanding of historical reality and practical change that was "new and bold" and that they were so "radical" and "rebellious" that they were "slapping all tradition in the face" (774). All in all, Mayer seems to have used the authority of the by-then classical authors as a means to underline his own conviction that the working class of the 1920s should follow the example of Marx and Engels in developing an "economic conception of history" in order to see through the philosophical and political phrase mongering of their own times and to get practically involved in changing history.

Using the writings of Marx and Engels to underpin the political messages of theorists and leaders of the revolutionary working-class movement was certainly nothing new or exceptional, but the explicit use of the manuscripts known to us as *The German Ideology* was something completely different. Mayer's publication of parts of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" marked the starting point from which the political history of *The German Ideology* can be recounted. This was a turning point in the interpretation and employment of these manuscript texts. Although the existence of *The German Ideology* manuscripts was already known to specialists and others with an interest in the works of Marx and Engels, their quality and significance had been underestimated by many. The substantial and detailed biography of Marx by Mehring represents a typical example of how the manuscripts were treated before the 1920s.

In the fifth chapter of Mehring's biography *Karl Marx: Geschichte seines Lebens* (Karl Marx: The story of his life), first published in 1918, one can find a whole section on the 1845–46 manuscripts (see Mehring, 1936: 109–11; 1976: 119–21). After providing a general introduction to the historical background of Marx's exile in Brussels, Mehring quoted the well-known part of the 1859 "*Vorwort*" (Preface) of *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* (A contribution to the critique of political economy) by Marx, which gave readers hints about the existence of the manuscripts that were later formed into *The German Ideology*. After citing Marx's figurative expression that he and Engels had left the manuscript materials to the "gnawing criticism of the mice," Mehring (1976: 117) added that "the mice indeed did their work in the

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most literal sense of the word, but the remaining fragments make it explicable that the authors were not much worried about this mishap."

Furthermore, Mehring (1976: 120) described *The German Ideology* manuscripts as a "longwinded hyper-polemic," much worse than the "darkest chapters" of *Die Heilige Familie* (*The Holy Family*), in which the "oases in the desert" are very rare. And wherever there is "dialectical precision," he said, it turns forthwith into pedantic "hair-splitting." While some of these negative descriptions are certainly true for some parts of the text, one has to keep in mind that Mehring had of course not read the whole of the 1845–46 manuscripts, because they were, as mentioned earlier, deposited mainly with Bernstein, and Bernstein would not grant Mehring access to them for political reasons.

While Mehring criticized the manuscripts known to him by commenting on their formal appearance and readability, it was Mayer who discovered the deeper textual meaning and significance of this "early work" by Marx and Engels. Thanks to him, the short introduction to "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" and the critique of Bauer ("*II. Sankt Bruno*"), presented at that point as an integral part of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," were first published in 1921, and Mayer (1971: 775) stressed in his foreword to the text that it could be considered "particular luck that the 'gnawing criticism of the mice' has spared the largest parts of the manuscript."

The editorial standards that Mayer applied when he prepared the manuscripts for publication are also very important. By looking at the text it becomes immediately apparent that Mayer used the title "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" for a part of *The German Ideology* manuscripts that was later on separated into two distinct fragments ("*Textzeugen*"). In the edition of 1921 Mayer subordinated the fragment entitled "*II. Sankt Bruno*" directly under "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," making it look like a single and coherent text.

In contrast to this the *apparatus criticus* of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition, for example, now renders a different historical background for fragment "*II. Sankt Bruno*" (IMES, 2004: 337–8). Thus it is worth noting that Marx and Engels's introduction to "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," which consists of less than one printer's sheet (i.e., a large piece of paper that has been folded once in the middle, in order to obtain two double-sided leaves and thus four "book" pages), should instead be viewed from here on as an introduction to both the manuscripts "*II. Sankt Bruno*" and "*III. Sankt Max*." Furthermore, the fragment entitled "*II. Sankt Bruno*" is a historical document in its own right, much longer than the introduction, and consists of eight printer's sheets and one extra page (IMES, 2004: see pages 328 and 338).

But of course such details had not yet been discovered and researched in the 1920s, and Mayer should be given credit for at least trying to determine the history of the few parts of what has since been published as *The German Ideology* that were known to him. In fact, he is the first to describe the manuscripts as a "criticism of post-Hegelian philosophy" and to assign them to the first "volume" of what has become known as *The German Ideology*. He is also the first to assume prospectively a textual connection between "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" and "*III. Sankt Max*" (IMES, 2004: 8*).

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Mayer tried to determine the exact point at which "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" was written down by its authors. Since there is no direct statement of dating on the manuscripts, and the letters sent by Marx and Engels in 1845–46 also do not reveal any answer to this question, Mayer came up with the following chronology. First of all "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" was a polemic directly commenting on articles published in the third volume of a quarterly journal ("*Vierteljahrsschrift*") published by Otto Wigand (1795–1870), which was presumably not on sale any earlier than October of 1845 (Mayer, 1971: 777). Second, a short article can be found in the first issue of the periodical *Gesellschaftsspiegel* of 1846—a paper founded by Heß. At this point, Mayer makes a very important discovery. By thoroughly comparing this short article, dated November 20 (1845), with his fragments of *The German Ideology* manuscripts, he discovered many similarities between the two, and then drew the conclusion that this very article could be seen as a "first sketch" of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*." Although he knew about the significance of his finding, he did not bother to republish the article because, in his opinion, it was "too long" (780).

The article itself had been published anonymously, and it is worth pointing out that Mayer claimed that Engels could be identified as the author. This again was viewed differently later on, but Mayer tried to bolster his interpretation by informing the reader that "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" was also mainly written down by Engels and that Marx had made only some corrections once everything had been committed to paper. Mayer admitted that one should not jump to any conclusions when it comes to determining the authorship of these documents, because Marx and Engels were working in intimate cooperation on the subject. Still, Mayer (1971: 776–7) was convinced that he could detect Engels's "brighter voice" more clearly in "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" than Marx's "sonorous bass." This interpretation by Mayer, who was an expert on Engels's so-called early writings and was also Engels's first biographer, could be an explanation as to why he recorded Engels as first author of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" and Marx as second (773; Mayer, 1936: 70).

Apart from saying that "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," including "*II. Sankt Bruno*," could not have been written before November 20, 1845, and furthermore claiming that Engels rather than Marx should be viewed as the lead author, there are no other historical-critical details provided by Mayer. There is no comment on how the "printer's sheets" had been divided into double columns, how only the left-hand column on the sheets was used for writing the text, and how the right-hand column was left blank for corrections and insertions. He gave no information on whether the pages had been numbered, whether the manuscripts that he was publishing were sketches or printer's "fair copy" (*Reinschrift*), and whether the general condition of the manuscripts was good when he received them.

When looking at this publication of 1921 it becomes obvious that Mayer had silently modernized the language, changed characters such as "&" into the German word "*und*," and not listed any textual variants such as replacements, rearrangements, reductions, and supplementations. Mayer's edition of the short introduction to "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" and the critique of Bauer ("*II. Sankt Bruno*"), presented as an integral part of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," was, in a philological sense, rather poor.

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Articles Printed in the Grünberg Archive, 1925–26

It was Mayer (1971) himself who predicted in his foreword to the 1921 edition of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" that a future publication of *The German Ideology* manuscripts as a whole was going to be a "painstaking and time-consuming" undertaking, if it were to be done with "strict philological meticulousness." However, for the moment, there would not be any prospect of tackling this kind of work (775). Who would finance such an edition, not to speak of Marx's and Engels' entire œuvre? Who would have the means to do so? To what end? In the early years of the twentieth century the SPD was definitely not interested in funding an expensive edition with copious historical-critical commentary, swallowing up funds better used for election campaigns. The time-consuming preparation of such an edition would moreover distract party intellectuals from writing for party organs and other mass publications. Hence it is only due to the October Revolution of 1917 in Russia that such an enormous undertaking as the scientific publication of the works of Marx and Engels could eventually even be considered (Hobsbawm, 1998: 8–9). Only the Soviet state apparatus was able to allocate intellectual and financial recourses to a project that certainly would not have any immediate impact on the consciousness and commitment of the working class and peasantry in Russia or anywhere else.

Consequently, it was the Soviet state that decided to found a Marx-Engels Institute (MEI) in Moscow capable of publishing the collected works by Marx and Engels. The institute was officially opened on June 1, 1922, under its director Ryazanov; V. I. Lenin himself had asked him in a letter of February 2, 1921, to collect works by Marx and Engels (Hecker, 1997a: 12; Lenin, 1970: 80). Ryazanov was probably not the "most outstanding scholar working on Marx and Engels in the twentieth century," as Volker Külow (1960–) and André Jaroslawski (1963–) (1993: 7) depict him, but competent he certainly was when it came to gathering historical documents (see Schiller, 1930: 416–35). In the autumn of 1923, members of the institute started to photograph the manuscripts by Marx and Engels, which were, as already mentioned, mostly in the archive of the SPD in Germany. By 1931, the archive of the Marx-Engels Institute contained over 175,000 photographs of original manuscripts (Hecker, 1995: 14).

However, Ryazanov not only collected anything in connection with the writings of Marx and Engels, but also contributed himself to the rapidly developing discussion between scholars from many countries on how to edit manuscripts such as those now forming *The German Ideology*. The periodical *Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung* (Archive for the history of socialism and the Workers' Movement), published by Carl Grünberg (1861–1940) in the 1920s, became a forum for such scholarly debate. Grünberg was the director of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Frankfurt am Main, and he invited well-known authors like Max Adler (1873–1937), Karl Korsch (1886–1961), Georg Lukács (1885–1971), and his former student David Ryazanov to write for his journal.

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In 1925, Grünberg printed a speech that Ryazanov had given two years before at a meeting of the Socialist Academy in Moscow. The speech was entitled "Latest Report on Unpublished Works by Marx and Engels," and it dealt predominantly with Ryazanov's achievements in "finding" and securing the remains of what is known to us as *The German Ideology*. He described extensively and in great detail how and when he had received the different manuscripts that had been scattered between Bernstein and the party archive of the SPD. His driving question was: where are the "two large octavo volumes" that Marx mentioned in his 1859 "*Vorwor*t" to *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*? Ryazanov knew already that Mehring had got hold of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" around 1900. Furthermore, Ryazanov, for the first time, clearly indicated in his speech that what Mayer had simply called "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" comprised both an introduction to "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" and the critique "*II. Sankt Bruno*." Ryazanov (1925: 386–8) claimed in his speech that it was he who had told Mayer that Mayer could go ahead and publish this part of *The German Ideology* manuscripts, since he himself was not, just like all the others at the time, much interested in it or in them.

And it is exactly at this point that the political dimension of this history of editions gains momentum. Maybe Ryazanov had not been aware in 1923, when he gave his speech (in Russian) at the Socialist Academy in Moscow, that Mayer would ever read a German translation of it, but in that year he began to make strong accusations against Mayer. With reference to Mayer's biography of Engels, the first volume of which was published in 1920, Ryazanov (1925) said:

> But Mayer is a bourgeois writer. Only recently he became a social democrat or to be more precise: a national German social democrat. He is organically incapable of understanding Marxism as a philosophical and revolutionary teaching. At best he understands Engels as a good and patriotic German… Mayer is a journalist, an old reporter for newspapers, and he still has the habits of a journalist and reporter for newspapers. Even if he is writing a book scientifically he does not say precisely which manuscripts he used. It would be in vain, if one tried to find any information in his remarks about which parts of the "German Ideology" and which manuscripts he used, where they are, from which manuscripts and which pages the quotations were taken. Mayer is not saying one word about all this. (388–9)

Obviously Ryazanov was angry about the way Mayer seemed to be sequestering the sources from which he drew his conclusions about the content of *The German Ideology* manuscripts. But calling Mayer a "bourgeois writer" who is "incapable of understanding Marxism" was something completely different. Those strong allegations can only be interpreted as part of an ongoing struggle between two widely known scholars, both of whom were claiming to have "discovered" *The German Ideology* first. While Mayer was certainly the first one to stress the importance of the content of the 1845–46 manuscripts, it was Ryazanov (1925: 389) in his speech who was eager to let the scientific community know that it was he who had actually "brought the whole of the 'German Ideology' into daylight." Considering the fact that *The German Ideology* manuscripts were never really lost, but were simply more

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or less hidden away by Bernstein, Ryazanov's part in the rediscovery of the manuscripts was not that great in 1923. Therefore, it has to be assumed that Ryazanov was simply using his allegations against Mayer as a means to emphasize his own efforts to retrieve the missing parts of the manuscripts from Bernstein.

One year later, in 1926, Mayer took his chance to publish a riposte concerning the question of who had "discovered" the manuscripts first. His article was published in the same periodical that had earlier published the speech by Ryazanov, the Grünberg Archive. Mayer's (1926: 284–7) title was "*Die 'Entdeckung' des Manuscripts der 'Deutschen Ideologie'"* (The "discovery" of the manuscripts of the "German Ideology"). And, interestingly enough, in the first footnote to the article, Grünberg (1926: 284) declared that the reply by Mayer would be the end of this polemic in his archive. One can only be surprised about this, keeping in mind that one year earlier Grünberg (1925: 385 had published Ryazanov's speech, explicitly saying that "Ryazanov's report possesses such value in literary history, that I believe it should be imparted to its full extent to the group of interested people in Germany." Gottfried Niedhart (1940–) provides a plausible explanation: not only was Ryazanov, as mentioned before, a former student of Grünberg's in Vienna, but, furthermore, it was Mayer who had earlier declined the offer to become the first director of the Frankfurt Institute for Social Research in 1922, which Grünberg had accepted. Mayer had been opposed to the "leftist tendencies" of the financial backer of the institute (Niedhart, 1997: 80).

In his article of 1926 Mayer said that everyone who is aware of the "alleged rediscovery" of *The German Ideology* manuscripts could only "grin indulgently" at the explanation put forward by Ryazanov. Furthermore, the way this "discovery" was mirrored in Ryazanov's "imagination" had no relation to the truth whatsoever. In Mayer's view, the manuscripts had never been physically lost (since everyone knew that they were mostly with Bernstein), and, therefore, Ryazanov simply could not claim to have found them. Mayer (1926: 284–6) argued that he himself had never had any problems in getting access to the manuscripts. Bernstein, according to Mayer, simply wanted to protect his right to publish them by himself. And one can only add, although Mayer does not comment on this, that the "revisionist" Bernstein was probably reluctant to put the manuscripts into the hands of a well-known supporter of the October Revolution like Ryazanov.

Mayer finished his short article by referring to his intellectual discovery of what he called *The German Ideology*. He stressed that it was he who had encouraged the scientific community in his Engels biography, published in 1920, to carry out further research on these manuscripts. Therefore, it would have been much more fruitful for the interested readership if Ryazanov would have done so, instead of attacking others—such as himself—in his "unobjective" manner. Mayer (1926: 286–7) then repaid like with like by saying indirectly that Ryazanov's style of work was "individualistic" and "dictatorial."

The correlation between two men fighting over "who gets the credit" for "discovering" what became known as *The German Ideology*, and the character of the language used by them is something not mentioned in the article "*Gustav Mayer und*

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Rjazanov" (Gustav Mayer and Ryazanov) by Niedhart (1997: 79–8). So it seems to be very appropriate to quote here the famous saying from the 1845–46 manuscripts that "the verbal masquerade only has meaning when it is the unconscious or deliberate expression of an actual ['*wirklichen*'] masquerade" (Marx and Engels, 1958: 394; 1976: 409). The language used by Mayer and Ryazanov provides the reader with an insight into a rapidly growing dichotomy within the working-class movement of the 1920s. It should not be misinterpreted as a coincidence that Mayer labeled Ryazanov "dictatorial," while Ryazanov called Mayer a "bourgeois writer." The political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* thus commences with disputes accompanying an evolving struggle between "orthodox" Communists and "opportunist" Social Democrats. The split within the Second International, which led to its final breakup in 1914 and the subsequent fragmentation of the organized workers' movement, is visible in the history of the editions of *The German Ideology*.

Apart from all these contradictions between Mayer and Ryazanov, they had one thing in common. Just as Mayer had criticized Mehring, Ryazanov criticized Bernstein for maintaining the false assertion that "the mice" had eaten large parts of the manuscripts. Ryazanov (1925: 389) quoted Bernstein, saying that he would not print the subsection on "Human Liberalism" from "*III. Sankt Max*" simply because "the mice" had left only "three little pieces" of it behind. Obviously Mehring took this myth about mice eating parts of what is now known as *The German Ideology* over from Bernstein without having any proof whatsoever. But since Ryazanov found all the supposedly missing parts later on in the manuscripts he received from Bernstein, it must have been Bernstein who invented this myth for some—maybe political—reasons. Bernstein was probably hoping that his readers would believe what he said simply because Marx (1961: 10) had written in 1859 that he and Engels had "left the manuscript to the gnawing criticism of the mice." Even though the 1845–46 manuscripts had been donated to the mice as a friendly gift, they did not really seem to have made much enjoyable use of it after all (see Marx and Engels, 1932a: 211–19).

The First German-Language Edition of "I. Feuerbach" in 1926

In the aforementioned speech that Ryazanov gave on November 20, 1923, at the Socialist Academy in Moscow, he drew the attention of his listeners to one particular "chapter" of *The German Ideology* manuscripts: these were the ones supposedly forming a Feuerbach chapter. One has to assume that most of his listeners had read about these important manuscripts at one time or another beforehand, simply because they are mentioned by Engels himself in one of his widely circulated writings. If one were to study Marxism and its world outlook ("*Weltanschauung*") in the 1920s, it was compulsory to study Engels's *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie* (Ludwig Feuerbach and the end of classical German philosophy) of 1886 (a complete translation by G. V. Plekhanov [1856–1918] had been available in the Russian language since 1892). In his preliminary remarks to the edition of 1888 Engels (1962a: 264) states clearly that he had returned to the

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1845–46 manuscripts once again in order to take a closer look at them, finding then that the "section on Feuerbach" had not been completed.

Then, 35 years later, Ryazanov informed his listeners that even though Mayer had had access to the "Feuerbach chapter" of *The German Ideology* manuscripts, he had omitted to give an account of its content as he should have done. In Ryazanov's interpretation of this particular "chapter," Marx and Engels were providing an introduction to studying human history. Their starting point was that one should not resort to something "abstract," but rather closely examine the "real individuals" and their actions, the circumstances under which these individuals are living and the ways they are changing these circumstances through human productive activity. Anyone who is keen on studying human history should first of all study human beings themselves and the "milieu" in which they are working. All of these new and important theoretical approaches, according to Ryazanov, were presented in the manuscripts on Feuerbach in a "superb, specific and clear manner." It is because of this that he felt obliged to publish "*I. Feuerbach*" as quickly as possible, even before the whole of *The German Ideology* manuscripts had been prepared for printing as a single volume "book" within the emerging set of collected works (Rjazanov, 1925: 390).

Therefore, in 1924, a Russian-language translation of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts was prepared and printed in the Soviet Union (see Marx and Engels, 1924; IMLSU, 1978: 14). Shortly after that, in 1926, "*I. Feuerbach*" was finally published for the first time ever in its original language in the German-language journal *Marx-Engels-Archiv* (Marx-Engels-Archive) (Marx and Engels, 1926a: 233–306). The *Marx-Engels-Archiv*, the journal of the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow, had been founded by Ryazanov himself in 1926 in order to present documents on "the origin, the development and dissemination of the ideas on scientific socialism." However, as Ryazanov made clear in his "Foreword by the editor," the *Marx-Engels-Archiv* would not publish any articles or works focusing on historical events that had occurred after the collapse of the Second International in 1914. In other words, Ryazanov seemed to have had no interest in publishing anything on the decisive split within the organized workers' movement, on Lenin and the Bolshevik party, or on the October Revolution of 1917. His journal was to be mainly a historical one, committed only to the scientific and critical study of works by Marx and Engels. The *Marx-Engels-Archiv* must, therefore, be viewed as a forum for scholarly debate on the origins of Marxism, rather than as an organ for party propaganda.

However, the *Marx-Engels-Archiv* was supposed to contribute to another cause, namely, the envisaged publication of the first *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe*, known as MEGA1. Hitherto unpublished works by Marx and Engels would be printed in the journal prior to their publication in MEGA1. The *Marx-Engels-Archiv* would thus allow critical examination by scholars from many countries long before these works would finally be published as part of the "*Gesamtausgabe*" (complete edition) (Ryazanov, 1926b: 1–3). The simple fact that the so-called Feuerbach chapter of *The German Ideology* was published in the first volume of the *Marx-Engels-Archiv*

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supports our view that Ryazanov regarded *The German Ideology* manuscripts as a key text among the so-called early writings of Marx and Engels. As described earlier, it was because of the October Revolution and the first "workers-and-peasants-state" that an institute entirely committed to the publication of the works of Marx and Engels could be set up. And it was due to this fact that someone like Ryazanov could have gained the financial and organizational means for collecting and printing the so-called manuscripts on Feuerbach. But why exactly did he do so? To what end? Why were these manuscripts so important to Ryazanov at this time?

Some answers to these questions can be found in Ryazanov's introduction to "*I. Feuerbach*," also published in the *Marx-Engels-Archiv*. Here Ryazanov (1926a) went one step further. Not only was he constantly repeating that it had been he who had physically "unearthed" *The German Ideology* manuscripts, but now he also claimed that it had been he who had unveiled their "secret" content (206–9). His assertion was directly aimed at Mayer, as the person with whom the whole political discussion about the content of *The German Ideology* manuscripts had started in 1921. In contrast to Mayer, who had not had a chance to study the so-called manuscripts on Feuerbach, Ryazanov now read and interpreted *The German Ideology* through its "first chapter." He summed up his findings by describing the "finished parts" of this purported chapter as "the earliest account of the materialistic conception of history" (*die früheste Darlegung der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung*).

This assessment is indeed something completely new, because it makes a big difference whether Marx and Engels simply apply their conception of history or whether they provide some explanatory material about their premises. It is well known that Marx and Engels extensively made use of their conception of history while polemically criticizing their opponents, but they very seldom gave detailed accounts of their underlying working method. This is especially true for Marx, and the few instances where he actually does write about his methods are in inverse proportion to the number of times that they have been quoted later on. The most popular account can be found in the 1859 "*Vorwort*" to *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* where he discusses the "general conclusion" drawn from his previous studies, which then served him as a "guiding principle" (*Leitfaden*) (Marx, 1961: 8).

It is probably the fate of many great political theorists that researchers and "followers" alike are often looking for short summaries and easy introductions to their work. Therefore, any short and readable explanation dealing with Marx and Engels's conception of history must have been welcomed. But there is certainly a huge difference between informing readers about the methods used in political and historical writing, as Marx and Engels do in what is known to us now as *The German Ideology*, and the application of an a priori "recipe or schema," which does violence to the material that is being investigated. While many examples concerning working methods can be found in the so-called chapter on Feuerbach, Marx and Engels very strongly oppose any reproach that they were simply applying a preconceived historical "recipe or schema" to historical material. In fact, this is exactly what the 1845–46 manuscripts, their criticisms of Feuerbach and Bauer, are all about.

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A short quotation from one of the manuscripts usually edited as part of "*I. Feuerbach*" will further underline this decisive assessment:

> With the presentation of reality, independent philosophy loses its medium of existence. At most a recapitulation of the most general results may take place, results which can be abstracted out of a consideration of the historical development of men. In themselves, apart from real history, these abstractions have no value whatsoever. They can serve only to simplify the ordering of the historical material, to indicate the sequence of its several layers. By no means, however, do they give, as philosophy does, any recipe or scheme for neatly arranging the epochs of history. (Marx and Engels, 1994: 125–6)

It seems impossible that Ryazanov, who claimed that it was he who had unveiled the "secret" content of *The German Ideology* manuscripts, had actually overlooked this very important difference between an applied methodology and a dogmatic schema. But it was also Ryazanov (1926a: 216) who, for the first time in this context, talked about a "historical-economic schema" that had allegedly been "constructed" by Marx and Engels. By calling the highly inductive method of Marx and Engels a "historical-economic schema" Ryazanov brought certain metaphysical and speculative concepts into his interpretation of the text.

Ryazanov names one "question of cardinal significance in the history of Marxism." He asks "to what extent could the materialist conception of history be seen as a result of original work by Marx and (to some degree) by Engels"? The 1926 *Marx-Engels-Archiv* edition provides, according to Ryazanov (1926a: 211), the first "point of reference" (*Fixpunkt*) from which an enquiry into this question could be started. Ryazanov's "*Einführung des Herausgebers*" (Introduction by the publisher) features a very detailed and scholarly section on "handwriting and text revision," and it is here that he informs the reader that everything that has been written by Marx (such as interpolations, text additions, marginal notes, corrections, etc.) has been reproduced in the text, and Marx's authorship of particular words and lines is identified in the footnotes.

Ryazanov's unique reproduction of the manuscripts allows the reader to follow the development of each sentence and paragraph chronologically, without being forced to consult a separate *apparatus criticus* at the same time. It immediately becomes apparent at which stages of writing (which was mostly done by Engels, because of his more legible handwriting) Marx intervened by crossing out, adding or correcting words, phrases, and even paragraphs. This particular way of editing "*I. Feuerbach*" was a remarkable scholarly achievement in its time and can still be regarded as such today (IMES, 2004: 9*). Editing the so-called first chapter of *The German Ideology* in such a way that the different layers of handwriting are visible within the edited text itself has only been redone once again in the original language by Wataru Hiromatsu (1974).

Apart from this, Ryazanov tried to determine authorship in a way very similar to Mayer, by sensing the tone and closely examining handwriting. This imprecise method led Ryazanov to the "impression" that it was Marx who had dictated the

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text fragment "*A. Die Ideologie überhaupt, namentlich die deutsche*" (A. Ideology in general, German ideology in particular) directly to Engels. He noticed that one can find a larger number of significant corrections being made by Engels in this fragment than could be found in other manuscripts of what became known as *The German Ideology*. Ryazanov maintained furthermore that the rest of "*I. Feuerbach*" was committed to paper solely by Engels, that is, without Marx dictating to him. But all of this seems to have been a rather "tricky question" to Ryazanov, and he then gave an analysis of the "order [of the manuscripts] as carried out by the authors."

First of all, Ryazanov (1926a: 217) agreed with Engels in describing the "section on Feuerbach" as "not being brought to an end" (see also Engels, 1962a: 264). He then gave a detailed list of what he had allegedly "dredged up." In 1926, he was in possession of:

One "main manuscript" (*Hauptmanuskript*) consisting of 19 printer's sheets plus 1 single page.

One "fair copy" (*Reinschrift*) consisting of 4 printer's sheets that can be divided into another two parts.

The "main manuscript" seemed to be in good order, although Ryazanov correctly emphasized that the text has no coherence within itself. Throughout the "main manuscript," one can find an almost continuous numbering of pages done by Marx. The numbering by Marx starts out with number 8 and runs all the way through to 72. The only pages that are supposedly missing in Marx's pagination are pages 1–7, 29, and 36–9. The whole picture changes a bit if one looks at the numbering of the printer's sheets, which, according to Ryazanov (1926a: 218), was done by Engels. Engels allegedly starts out with printer's sheet 1, then 4 sheets are now missing, continues with 5–11, then another 9 sheets are now missing, continues again with sheets number 20–21, then another 63 sheets are missing, and he finishes by numbering sheets 84–92. Following what Ryazanov identified as Engels's enumeration, no less than 73 printer's sheets (around 300 pages) must have been lost completely.

Ryazanov tried to solve the mystery of the missing pages by arguing that since the other parts of *The German Ideology* manuscripts (the introduction to "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," "*II. Sankt Bruno*," "*III. Sankt Max*," and the sections on the "true socialists") are all numbered in a very coherent way, it cannot be possible that the missing printer's sheets were simply attached to these other parts. According to Ryazanov (1926a: 217–20), it is more likely that these missing sheets were separated from "*I. Feuerbach*" at a much earlier stage, and it seems that their content was worked into the fair copies of the introduction to "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," "II. Sankt Bruno," "*III. Sankt Max*," and the sections on the "true socialists." Since one can find some examples of crossed-out passages in "I. Feuerbach," which also appear with minor changes in "*II. Sankt Bruno*" and "*III. Sankt Max*," Ryazanov's theory sounds at first quite convincing. However, the enigma of the historical origins of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts will be resolved in a different way later on in this volume.

By looking at the 1926 edition of the Feuerbach chapter of *The German Ideology* itself, we conclude that Ryazanov clearly aimed at constructing a smooth "chapter 'I. Feuerbach'" by fitting several completely independent manuscript fragments

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together. First, Ryazanov (1926a: 218, 237) made the mistake of identifying one of the so-called chapter openings, which is entitled "*I. Feuerbach*" "*1. Die Ideologie überhaupt, speziell die deutsche Philosophie*" ("I. Feuerbach" 1. Ideology in general, especially German philosophy), not only as part of the "main manuscript," but also as the first printer's sheet numbered by Engels. However, no pagination by either Marx or Engels can be found on this text fragment (see IMES, 2004: 304).

Second, he assumed that a "printer's sheet," which Engels had allegedly numbered with "5.," stands in a close textual relationship with the pages that had been numbered by Marx, and therefore must be rendered just before Marx's page 8. The same applies to the "single page" that Ryazanov had found among the unpublished works of the two authors, and which he also wrongly regarded as part of the "main manuscript," that is, as part of the pages that had been brought into order by Marx. Ryazanov argued that Marx did not actually bother to number these first sheets and pages, simply because they should have been rewritten anyway.

To make things even worse, Ryazanov then brought the second manuscript that he found into play—the "fair copy" manuscript that consists of only 4 printer's sheets. According to him, its second part (printer's sheets 3 and 4) could be attached both physically and in terms of content to the end of what he calls the "main manuscript," but he did not provide any explanation for having done so. According to him, the first part (printer's sheets 1 and 2) could be divided once again into two sections. Section one is nothing but fair copy (with only a few additional words) of the crossed-out "beginning" of the "main manuscript," and so Ryazanov did not bother to render it twice in his 1926 edition. Section two is supposedly a new version of the passage "*1. Die Ideologie überhaupt, speziell die deutsche Philosophie*." Here Ryazanov (1926a: 216–21) decided that in terms of its content it could be printed in between the "beginning" of the "main manuscript" and the passage "*1. Die Ideologie überhaupt, speziell die deutsche Philosophie*" (see IMES, 2004: 304).

The first edition of "*I. Feuerbach*," published in the *Marx-Engels-Archiv* of 1926, therefore, was in the following order:

> "*I. Feuerbach" "Gegensatz von materialistischer und idealistischer Anschauung*" ("I. Feuerbach," The materialist way of conceiving things as opposed to the idealist way). The second title was written in pencil by Engels on the last page of the "main manuscript."
>
> "*A. Die Ideologie überhaupt, namentlich die deutsche*" (A. Ideology in general, German ideology in particular). Here Ryazanov inserts a section of the second manuscript known as the "fair copy."
>
> "*1. Die Ideologie überhaupt, speziell die deutsche Philosophie*" (1. Ideology in general, especially German philosophy). Here the "main manuscript" allegedly continues.

Two paragraphs, which were found by Ryazanov on the single page, have been inserted just before page number 8 (pagination according to Marx).

Pages 8–35 (pagination according to Marx).

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"[*B. Wirtschaft, Gesellschaft, Individuum und ihre Geschichte in materialistischer Anschauung.*]" ([B. Economy, society, individual and their history in the materialistic conception.]). This title is as much an invention by Ryazanov as his assumption that we are dealing with a chapter "B."

Pages 40–73 (page 73 was not numbered by Marx).

"[*Teilung der Arbeit und Formen des Eigentums*]" ([Division of labour and forms of property]). The paragraph under this fictitious title by Ryazanov is another part of the second manuscript known as the "fair copy."

In addition to the aforementioned "main manuscript," with its two insertions taken from the "fair copy," Ryazanov published two more documents in 1926. The first one was a manuscript solely written by Marx, in contrast to the other parts of the 1845–46 manuscripts. Ryazanov found it among the manuscripts that Laura Lafargue had kept after Marx's death, and he assumed it was the "projected introduction to the first volume" of *The German Ideology*. The second document, known as the "Theses on Feuerbach" (approximately spring of 1845), is definitely not a part of *The German Ideology* manuscripts, though the two have been published together many times thereafter (Rjazanov, 1926a: 217; see IMLSED, 1958b: XII).

In our next chapter, we continue the research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* manuscripts by providing a brief account of major historical events in the late 1920s and the early 1930s. Although it is the time of J. V. Stalin's rise to power and the end of Ryazanov's work as editor, we demonstrate on the basis of historical documents that Ryazanov's influence on the landmark 1932 MEGA1 edition of *The German Ideology* as a single volume "book" was far more significant than is generally acknowledged by present-day scholars.

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Chapter Three

The Stalin Era and the Construction of a Feuerbach Chapter in Volume I/5 of MEGA1

The Fate of David Ryazanov and Political Developments in the 1930s

Although the fate of Ryazanov was closely linked to the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*, it is not the primary task of this research to trace every detail of his biography up to his death sentence in 1938. Nor should his fate be interpreted solely through the history of the editions of *The German Ideology* in the 1930s. The first approach would mean putting too much emphasis on personal affairs, whereas a wider historical process should be invoked. The second approach would overemphasize the significance of *The German Ideology* with respect to the tragic death of a well-known scholar.

There have been quite a few recent publications focusing on the life of Ryazanov and, moreover, providing compilations of historical documents of the time (see Külow and Jaroslawski, 1993; Kolpinskij, 1997; Vollgraf, Sperl, and Hecker, 2001). However, we will only use biographical data in the following historical-political analysis if a direct connection between the editorial history of what is known to us as *The German Ideology* and the fate of Ryazanov can be assumed. It is more important to understand that Ryazanov was simply a well-known exponent of a much wider theoretical struggle and that his personal fate exemplifies the fate of a whole school of theorists within the Soviet Union in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s. After all, there is no argument over the question that Ryazanov and his Marx-Engels Institute (MEI), which existed for ten years under his directorship, was in firm opposition to the political line of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) (AUCP(b)).

In his essay *"Die 'Säuberung'—Übernahme des Rjazanov-Instituts durch Adoratskij"* (The "Purge"—Adoratskii's takeover of the Ryazanov-Institute), Jakov Rokityanskii described Ryazanov as an "influential" but "irksome" party functionary. Ryazanov made overt use of his position by employing people in his institute, who, according to the Communist Party, had highly questionable political backgrounds. And the well-known German "renegade" Karl Johann Kautsky (1854–1938) characterized

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the institute as one "of the few pleasing creations of Soviet Russia." Ryazanov often and openly polemicized against the general secretary of the party, J. V. Stalin (1879–1953), and maintained close contacts with Mensheviks and Trotskyists, who were in fundamental opposition to the party line after Lenin's death in January 1924. Ryazanov allegedly supported victims of political persecution by using funds from the MEI and by providing further employment for them even though they had been sent into exile.

At first the Central Committee tried to keep Ryazanov out of active politics as much as possible, mainly by loading enormous amounts of work onto his shoulders, but the institute, with its 257 members, increasingly developed into a secluded refuge for the anti-Stalin opposition within Russia (Rokitjanskij, 2001: 13–14). The Central Committee attempted to deal with Ryazanov by trying to turn this rather withdrawn institute, which had, however, cultivated many links with scientists abroad, into an institution that would directly serve the domestic propaganda interests of the AUCP(b). It was in the interest of the party to make sure that the large sums of money allocated to the MEI were being used to support the AUCP(b)'s position within society.

Ryazanov admitted in a report, which he gave in a meeting of the Institute at the end of September or at the beginning of October 1930, that the accusation of running an institute that was not taking part in current political activities was not groundless. He then promised that he would set up a "propaganda-commission," following a resolution by the Central Committee of the AUCP(b). The main activity of the "propaganda-commission" was supposed to be that of systematically establishing close links between the Institute and the broad scientific public at home. From now on the MEI was forced to report on its activities to the Russian public and to organize lectures and symposia (Rjazanov, 1997: 119–20). The Institute was also forced to support actively the "building of socialism in one country," to support the theory of "Marxism-Leninism" and to redefine its editorial activities so they would serve the immediate propaganda interests of the AUCP(b).

At this point it must have been obvious to many within the MEI, including its director Ryazanov, that their time at the institute was coming to an end. In a letter written to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD) in March 1931, Wilhelm Pieck (1876–1960; 1993: 251) (who later became the first president of the German Democratic Republic) said that they all knew "Ryazanov did not love the Bolsheviks and that he always very purposefully declared that he is not a Leninist, but a Marxist." In a next step the Central Committee of the AUCP(b) sent "trustworthy" party members to the MEI in order to change its "right-wing" political line from the inside.

However, in 1931, the leadership of the Soviet Union finally seized the time to use peaceful methods to bring the MEI under its direct control. This "island of persistent resistance within the ocean of social-sciences," as Rokityanskii (2001) calls the Ryazanov Institute, could only be conquered by getting rid of its director completely. Ryazanov was arrested on February 15, 1931, after being confronted

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with allegations that he had been actively engaged in counterrevolutionary activities committed by the Menshevik opposition (15–7; IMES, 2004: 13*).

It certainly did not help Ryazanov much that the "arch-enemy" of J. V. Stalin, the "opportunist" Leon Davidovich Trotsky (1879–1940), had started to write articles in defense of Ryazanov (see Trotzki, 1993a: 236–42; 1993b: 242–5). Shortly after the arrest of Ryazanov, the whole leadership of the MEI was dissolved, and 131 members had to leave the institute. Most of them were officially dismissed, but members of the AUCP(b) were assigned to other workplaces. On February 20, 1931, the politburo gave orders to appoint Vladimir Viktorovich Adoratskii (1878–1945) to be the new director of the institute.

Adoratskii himself had a personal interest in keeping as many experts employed in the MEI as possible, and he even gave some jobs back to scholars who had been discharged only weeks before. How was all of this reflected in the publications of the MEI in general and in the publication of what has become known to us as *The German Ideology* in particular? It is interesting to note at this point that the commission that had been assigned to oversee the completion of the publications and also the board of directors of the institute had no objection to including former employees in finishing the editions. It was probably thanks to Adoratskii himself that this became possible, and one could argue that the Ryazanov Institute lived on even under its new directorship (Rokitjanskij, 2001: 20–1). But on the other hand, even though many of the old experts stayed on, the whole concept of publishing the works and manuscripts of Marx and Engels then changed completely.

These different approaches become immediately visible by comparing two important documents of the time. The first document, by Ryazanov himself, was published as a "*Vorwort zur Gesamtausgabe*" (Preface to the complete edition) in the first volume of MEGA1 in 1927. In his preface, Ryazanov provided a short overview of the contents of the first volume and, furthermore, informed the reader about the planned sequence of future editions. The first and second volumes (in "Division I") of the "historical-critical" MEGA1 edition were supposed to contain works and manuscripts up to the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (German-French Annals) of 1844. Interestingly enough, the works of Marx and Engels would not be presented together in a single volume, but rather separated into volumes one and two. Only from the third volume onward would the texts of the two authors be presented together. The planned third volume was supposed to comprise manuscripts and works written between the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* and the spring of 1845. Among these works would be famous writings such as *Die Heilige Familie*, the first jointly written work by Engels and Marx (published names in that order), and *Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England* (*The Condition of the Working Class in England*) by Engels alone.

Consequently, the fourth volume of MEGA1 "Division I" would be solely dedicated to the manuscripts of 1845 to 1846. Ryazanov justified the edition of what he called *The German Ideology* by referring to its practical use for scholars who are engaged in historical studies on ideology. According to Ryazanov (1993: 150–1), the

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text would allow these scholars to follow Marx and Engels through all the stages of their intellectual development up to that time: from Hegel to Feuerbach, taking in aspects of French socialism, and from their perception of the developing proletarian class struggle to "dialectical materialism." The planned MEGA1 edition of *The German Ideology* should, therefore, be judged as an edition that predominantly serves scholarly interests, and Ryazanov stressed this many times in his preface when he talked about MEGA1 in general:

> Our edition offers most of all an objective basis for all research on Marx and Engels, i.e. reproducing the whole intellectual estate of Marx and Engels clearly arranged… Since the main purpose of our edition lies in making the whole complex of ideas by Marx and Engels, in all its distinctiveness, available to scientific research, we placed the main emphasis on reproducing the text in an exact manner—free of all subjective interference and interpretation. (148, 153)

The second document that provides an insight into rapidly changing views on why and how the manuscripts known to us as *The German Ideology* should be published is a report by Ryazanov's successor Adoratskii. He gave this report on the occasion of the XI. Plenary Assembly of the Executive Committee of the Communist International (ECCI) on April 1, 1931, shortly after Ryazanov had been arrested. This report was entitled "Statement on the Lenin-Institute and the Marx and Engels-Institute." Adoratskii starts out by putting particular emphasis on what he called the "theoretical weapon of Marxism-Leninism" and its enormous significance for the "great struggle" for communism. In the name of the two institutions, which were dedicated entirely to research on "Marxist-Leninist theory," he proclaimed emphatically that the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin need to find the widest circulation. However, one must, according to Adoratskii, confess that these works had not yet found adequate circulation among the proletarian masses and working people in general.

Adoratskii's reason for disseminating the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin as widely as possible among the working masses was simple. By allowing them to familiarize themselves with the ideas of "revolutionary theory," they would be able to expose the falsity of the phrases used by the "disgraceful traitors of the revolutionary workers' movement." These "traitors," namely, Philipp Scheidemann (1865–1939) and Karl Kautsky and social democracy in general, were allegedly tampering with "Marxism" while embellishing their counterrevolutionary theories, used only to dull the minds of the working class, and thus dignifying these banal theories with the names of the "greatest revolutionaries." Their "castration" of revolutionary theory was thus serving objectively as a means to consolidate the rule of the bourgeoisie, and this in turn would be a "defence of Fascism" (Adoratskij, 2001: 107–8). Adoratskii said:

> For our part we must oppose these methods with the revolutionary propaganda of Marxist-Leninist theory, we must undertake the widest activity in circulating popular editions of the works by Marx, Engels and Lenin among the masses… Concerning

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> the Marx-Engels-Institute, it will, over the next period of time, centre its attention on working for the publication of a popular mass-edition [*Massenausgabe*] of the works of Marx and Engels. (108, 117)

Confronted with the rise of Fascist movements in several West European countries and the alleged "impotence" of social democratic parties in those countries, the Soviet Union abandoned the idea of supporting a long-term project such as the MEGA1 edition. Instead, the "theoretical weapons of Marxism-Leninism" would have to be strengthened through immediate mass printing of "popular editions" to make the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin directly available to working-class readers within and, perhaps more importantly, outside the Soviet Union. These editions were supposed to help the working classes solve the "daily questions" of their struggle for emancipation (109).

Here the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* takes another decisive turn. Just as Ryazanov had accused Mayer in 1925 of being a "bourgeois writer," it was only six years later that Adoratskii criticized Ryazanov for very similar reasons. Adoratskii claimed that during all the time that Ryazanov had acted as director of the MEI, he had not led the necessary struggle against social democracy. Furthermore, in his forewords to the works of Marx and Engels, Ryazanov had supposedly cultivated an "academicism, an abstract and unpolitical erudition," which could only be interpreted as a "direct betrayal" of the cause of the proletariat. This must be seen as one of the most severe offenses allegedly committed by Ryazanov, that he had "sabotaged" an "international-popular edition" of the works by Marx and Engels.

In the eyes of Adoratskii a new and popular edition should also comprise a very different selection of writings. Ryazanov had focused too much on the "early works" of Marx and Engels, when they were still "Idealist-Hegelians" or when their transition to "dialectical materialism" was just taking place as they were taking the "first steps into the new world view." Although Adoratskii admitted that these writings are very important for the study of the intellectual development of the authors, they are, in his view, not of the same importance to the daily struggle of the working classes as the later ones. Indirectly referring to what is now known as *The German Ideology*, he said that these works and manuscripts are full of "literary polemic" against former "kindred spirits," the left-Hegelians, but hardly accessible for study in the present time. Of the writings, which would be of great value for the current struggle being undertaken by the proletariat, only a very few had been published by the MEI. Moreover, Adoratskii pointed out that no effort had been made to produce the most important economic works by Marx. None of the materials referring to the First International and to the period of the 1870s and 1880s, a time when Marx and Engels were "leading the international workers' movement," had been made available to the public either.

Adoratskii (2001) then outlined his plans for a "popular peoples-edition" of the writings by Marx and Engels in 10–11 volumes. Two of the volumes were to incorporate the "philosophical works," and these had to be taken mainly from Engels's

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writings. As one could expect, the manuscripts that allegedly form *The German Ideology* were not mentioned at all (114–19). So it seems astonishing that Adoratskii was eventually the first person to publish the whole of the manuscripts of what is now known as *The German Ideology* in a single volume in 1932.

Ryazanov's Editorial Influence on the 1932 MEGA1 Edition

In his report on the tasks of the MEI, delivered in the late summer of 1930, Ryazanov (1997: 118) pointed out that volume three of MEGA1 had to be split into two parts, and, therefore, he would publish what he identified as *The German Ideology* as volume five of the first division ("*erste Abteilung*"). He envisaged the winter of 1931/32 as a date of publication. Until his arrest on February 15, 1931, Ryazanov was officially supervising all the necessary preparations. Furthermore, the commissioning editor, Pawel Lazarevich Veller (1903–41), who was working with Ryazanov on what was called *The German Ideology*, remained in his position even after Ryazanov had to leave the MEI (IMES, 2004: 13*). The Hungarian Ernst Osipovich Czóbel (1886–1953), for many years Ryazanov's deputy and leading editor of the 1926 *Marx-Engels-Archiv* edition of "*I. Feuerbach*," also remained at the institute after February 1931.

In March 1931 Czóbel was asked to deliver a report on the work that had been carried out in order to publish future volumes of MEGA1 (Hecker, 1997a: 132). In his report "Current State and Perspectives of the Publication of MEGA," Czóbel rendered a very detailed account of the progress he had made in connection with the publication of volume I/5 of MEGA1. Here he unambiguously described the state of the edited text of *The German Ideology*, shortly after Ryazanov had had to leave the institute. According to Czóbel (1997), the text was completely set and 75 percent of it had already been sent out to the printer for corrections. The *apparatus criticus* itself was not finished at this stage, but was mostly prepared on file cards. The only thing missing was an introduction (136–7). The question for us now is: to what extent did Adoratskii add or change anything later on? Did Adoratskii, after all, have an interest in what was known as *The German Ideology* in terms of using it for mass publication and political agitation among the working classes? Did he pay attention to it over the remaining months until its publication in 1932? Or did he have other propaganda projects on his mind?

The view that Ryazanov had a significant share in the editorial preparations of volume I/5 of MEGA1, and that Adoratskii had done relatively little, is not shared by Koltan (2002: 134) and other commentators. However, what would substantiate this thesis? Rokityanskii maintained that Adoratskii "privatized" many projects that Ryazanov had been working on earlier. Manuscripts that were waiting for publication were later on simply published under Adoratskii's name, while the names of other contributors were not mentioned anymore. Rokityanskii (2001) quotes from an angry letter to the politburo in 1934 by the indignant Ryazanov, who had been exiled for three years to Saratov. In his letter, Ryazanov complained that up to the present day he had not received even a single MEGA1 volume, which he had

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"prepared, worked on and edited" and which had been published under the name of Adoratskii between 1931 and 1933 (21–2).

Another example that supports the thesis that Ryazanov should be regarded as the main editor of the MEGA1 edition of *The German Ideology* as a single volume "book" can be found in Rolf Hecker's 2001 article "*Fortsetzung und Ende der ersten MEGA zwischen Nationalsozialismus und Stalinismus (1931–1941)"* (Continuation and end of the first MEGA between national socialism and Stalinism [1931–1941]). Here, Hecker (2001: 182) clearly states that the edition of *The German Ideology*, which had been published as an MEGA1 volume in 1932, was "mostly" [*weitgehend*] prepared under Ryazanov, but later on published by Adoratskii. The whole political controversy over who is accountable for the 1932 MEGA1 edition gets even more intense when the editorial influence that Ryazanov might have had on the so-called chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" is being considered.

Even the most superficial comparison between the 1926 *Marx-Engels-Archiv* edition and the 1932 MEGA1 edition reveals that there are grave differences in the way the text has been arranged. According to Koltan, this is due to the fact that it was simply "unbearable for Stalinism, if a manuscript, in which the 'scientific worldview of the proletariat' had been established, did not form a coherent and ideologically intrinsic whole." Therefore, in his view, it could not have been Ryazanov, as a victim of "Stalinism," who had been responsible for the way the so-called manuscripts on Feuerbach had been edited. Koltan (2002: 134) claims that even the "group of editors" (*Herausgebergruppe*) of MEGA1 could not be held responsible, since they allegedly also "had to look on powerless, as the original shape of the manuscripts was made completely unrecognisable."

But who did it then? Other than simply blaming "Stalinism" in general, Koltan fails to come up with a plausible answer. It is thanks to the editors of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* that such a simplistic explanation, which explains everything and nothing, can be ruled out. In contrast to Koltan's explanation, the editors of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* ask for the underlying reasons why the publishers of volume I/5 of MEGA1 "constructed" a Feuerbach chapter the way they did. However, had this not already been anticipated by Ryazanov, who was himself the leading editor of *The German Ideology* until his arrest in February 1931 (IMES, 2004: 13*–5*)?

In his "*Einleitung zum fünften Bande der ersten Abteilung*" (Introduction to the fifth volume of the first division) of MEGA1, written on June 15, 1932, Adoratskii—unsurprisingly—did not mention Ryazanov at all. He did not even refer to the 1926 *Marx-Engels-Archiv* edition of "I. Feuerbach." Instead, he stressed the fact that his edition was publishing the manuscripts "to the full extent" for the first time. In contradiction to his report, presented to the XI. Plenary Assembly of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on April 1, 1931 (see earlier), he now described the manuscripts allegedly forming *The German Ideology* as of the "highest theoretical, historical and practical value." He brushed the pejorative term "literary polemic" aside and declared, contrary to his 1931 statements, that Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology* "appear as the pioneers [*Vorkämpfer*] of the proletariat"

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(Adoratskij, 1932a: IX–XI). In sharp contrast to the 1926 "*Einführung des Herausgebers*" by Ryazanov, Adoratskij (1932a: IX–XI) quoted generously from Engels and Lenin.

It is Engels's view on historical developments in 1845–46 that clearly dominates Adoratskii's interpretation of the manuscripts. He quotes Engels's work "Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten," first published in November 1885. Here Engels rendered the following account of what happened in 1845–46. He claimed that when he had visited Marx in Paris in the summer of 1844, a "complete correspondence in all theoretical fields" was in evidence between them. In the spring of 1845, when they met again in Brussels, Marx had already worked out the main characteristic features of his "materialistic theory of history" (*materialistische Geschichtstheorie*). At that time they both simply sat down and developed their "newly found point of view" in various directions (Engels, 1962b: 212).

Three years later, in February 1888, Engels provided the reader with another recollection of the same event. In his "*Vorbemerkung*" (Preliminary Remarks) to *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie* (*Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*), he spoke of a "*materialistische Geschichtsauffassung*" (materialistic conception of history), which had been mainly worked out by Marx (Engels, 1962a: 263). And finally, in 1892, Engels uses the term "*historischer Materialismus*" (historical materialism) as a synonym for "materialistic theory of history" and "materialist conception of history." The term "historical materialism" was also explained in the introduction to the 1892 English edition of Engels's *Socialism: Utopian and Scientific*, which was later translated by Engels into German and printed as a newspaper article entitled "*Über historischen Materialismus*" (On historical materialism) (Engels, 1963: 298).

By using Engels as an eyewitness to these historical events, Adoratskii (1932a: IX–X) claimed that the "materialistic conception of history" had already been worked out in its "main characteristic features" (*Hauptzügen*) in 1845–46 and that "*I. Feuerbach*" must be seen as the "first systematic exposition of their [Marx and Engels's] historical-philosophical conception of the history of man." It is worth noting at this point that the phrase "materialistic conception of history" had not been used as such by Marx and Engels in what has become known as *The German Ideology*. But more importantly it was later questioned whether the 1845–46 manuscripts in general, and the so-called chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" in particular, could be interpreted as the "first systematic exposition" of any kind of conception of history at all (see the discussion in chapter 2). There is no doubt that what was published under the title *The German Ideology* expresses a conception of history, but the question is whether this "exposition" is to any extent "systematic."

While Adoratskii claimed that this "first systematic exposition" lends *The German Ideology* its "outstanding significance," the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*, by contrast, strictly criticizes this interpretation. Adoratskii's introduction, according to the editors (Taubert and Pelger) of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*, "instrumentalizes the 'German Ideology,' especially the Feuerbach-chapter, as a state witness [*Kronzeuge*] for so-called dialectical and historical materialism" (IMES, 2004: 15*).

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In the editorial to the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*, Herfried Münkler and Gerald Hubmann (2004: 3*) maintain "that earlier editions were for the most part marked by the political intention to provide proof of the systematic formulation of historical materialism in *The German Ideology*."

If there were a connection between the political aspiration to call what is known to us as *The German Ideology* the "first systematic exposition" of the "materialist conception of history" and the way that "*I. Feuerbach*" was edited, then it would be found in the arrangement of the manuscript itself. How does the "construction" and "rearrangement" of the text contribute to the thesis that the 1845–46 manuscripts contain the "first systematic exposition" of the "materialist conception of history" by Marx and Engels? Could not Ryazanov, who had also talked about a "historical-economical schema" allegedly "constructed" by Marx and Engels, be guilty of the same "abuse" of *The German Ideology* (Rjazanov, 1926a: 216)? Answers to these important questions can only be found within the 1932 edition.

The German Ideology in the MEGA1 Edition of 1932

The Adoratskii edition was published in 1932 "on behalf" of the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Institute, Moscow, in Berlin. In accordance with a decision made by the Politburo of the Central Committee of the AUCP(b) on April 5, 1931, the two institutes, the MEI and the Lenin-Institute, were merged into the Marx-Engels-Lenin-Institute. The language of the 1932 MEGA1 edition is German, and it comprises an introduction by the editor, the main text of *The German Ideology*, supplementary writings and an *apparatus criticus*. Editors' comments and other annotations on the text, especially on "*I. Feuerbach*," can be found in the introduction, in the footnotes to the main text and in the *apparatus criticus*. The reader is informed at least three times that the "manuscript 'I. Feuerbach'" is "unfinished," "has not been worked out," and "has not been brought to completion" (Adoratskij, 1932a: X, XVII; 1932b: 6, 562). Furthermore, the reader is informed in various places that the "manuscript 'I. Feuerbach'" underwent "editing" (*Redigierung*) by the publishers (Adoratskij, 1932a: XVII; 1932b: 6, 561–5).

If editing the so-called Feuerbach-manuscripts was to "correct mistakes" or to "make improvements," as common definitions of editing stipulate, what improvements are justified by the editors? There are only two hints on this crucial question. Both are found in a chapter of the *apparatus criticus* entitled "*Die Richtlinien für die Redigierung der Manuskripte*" (Guidelines for the editing of the manuscripts), not in the introduction. The first one explains that "what mattered was to work out the dialectical coherence of the single subject areas according to the style of the authors." And this in turn would reveal the "large scale trend of the composition" ("*die große Linie der Komponierung*") (Adoratskij, 1932b: 561–2). From this exposition, the following conclusion can be drawn: the so-called Feuerbach chapter is an "incoherent" mess, which, in the eyes of the editors, does not reveal its "large scale trend of the composition," and therefore it needed fixing in the "style of the

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authors." Or in other words, we know what the authors wanted to say, and since they did not do so, we have to do it for them by rearranging the text.

This is highly problematic. Something that had been started by Ryazanov in 1926 was now brought to perfection. Wherever Ryazanov had thought it would be necessary, in order to "construct" a more or less coherent Feuerbach chapter, he had added parts of the "fair copy" and other manuscript pages to what he had termed the "main manuscript" (see chapter 2). By doing so, he clearly demonstrated his own concern for the "coherence of single subject areas." Therefore, it was Ryazanov, after all, who had brought "logical" reasoning about content into the publication of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts. And although in his 1926 *Marx-Engels-Archiv* edition Ryazanov had at least followed the pagination by Marx (8–72), he had then definitely aimed to finish the work of Marx and Engels (see Rjazanov, 1926a: 217–21).

In sharp contrast to the claim that MEGA1 provides a "*Historisch-Kritische Gesamtausgab*e" (Historical-critical complete edition) of the works by Marx and Engels, the Adoratskii edition also applies, just as Ryazanov did, "logical" reasoning about content where historical and chronological accuracy would have secured sound scholarly reproduction. The following steps were taken by the editorial team of volume I/5 of MEGA1:

First, the editors searched for any "direct statements" in the text and in other manuscripts, letters, and so on, which would offer some kind of information on how the "material" should be "shaped."

Second, they defined three "groups" of such "direct statements":

- statements on the "composition" of the text;
- marginal notes mainly by Marx;
- dividing lines between "coherent blocks of material" and short paragraphs in parentheses.

Third, the "direct statements" were then allocated to the three "groups." This was done under the assumption that distinctive historical "layers" (*Schichtungen*) of manuscripts could be detected.

According to the editors, group one comprises "headings" and "subheadings" such as:

- One subheading of layer A (the earliest): "*Verhältnis von Staat und Recht zum Eigentum*"
- One heading and one subheading of layer B: "*I. Feuerbach*" and "*1. Ideologie überhaupt, speziell die deutsche Philosophie.—A*"
- Two headings and one subheading of layer C (the latest): "*I. Feuerbach*" and "*I. Feuerbach.—A. Die Ideologie überhaupt, namentlich die deutsche*"

The editors then decided that the two headings and the one subheading of layer C must be more recent and more accurate than the heading and subheading of

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layer B, and therefore only the headings and subheadings of layers A and C were to be taken for the published text. These subheadings would later on provide orientation for the rearrangement of the text. And since "*I. Feuerbach*" was to be seen as the main heading of the manuscripts, it in itself did not provide any further information on how "single subject areas" should be fitted together later on.

Group two comprises several notes on the alleged "further completion" of the text. One of them, according to the editors, was "*Ursprung des Staats und Verhältnis des Staats zur bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*" (Origin of the state and relationship between the state and the bourgeois society). The editors claimed that the content of this crossed-out note was discussed by Marx and Engels in subchapter five of "*III. Sankt Max*." And since "*III. Sankt Max*" was allegedly written down after layer A of "*I. Feuerbach*," it could serve later on as a "blueprint" or "model" for arranging parts of the manuscripts.

Furthermore, many marginal notes (mainly by Marx) can be found, often providing short summaries of related paragraphs. In the eyes of the editors the following marginal notes could also be used as subheadings for arranging the manuscripts:

- "*Verkehr und Produktivkraft*" (Interaction and productive force)
- "*Geschichte*" (History)
- "*Über die Produktion des Bewußtseins*" (On the production of consciousness)
- "*Produktion und Verkehrsform selbst*" (Production and forms of interaction themselves)

Finally, group three comprises dividing lines between "coherent blocks of material" and short paragraphs in parentheses. However, no information was rendered in the 1932 edition on how many of these dividing lines and short paragraphs in parentheses were found in the 1845–46 manuscripts and whether they would provide any help in establishing a coherent text. Although in a further step the editors cut the text into several dozen pieces, they failed to provide the reader with sufficient evidence that this was done in strict accordance with any dividing lines left behind by Marx and Engels themselves. One can only assume that the text was torn apart whenever the editors were convinced that its content was incoherent in a "logical" sense. Needless to say, this method was based on pure speculation.

Fourth, pieces of text were allocated to the six given subheadings. Some of this was done in accordance with the "model" supposedly provided in "*III. Sankt Max*." By doing so the editors apparently also invented some new subheadings, just as Ryazanov had done six years earlier. In the end, the editors explained laconically that pieces of text that remained as leftovers were later on added here and there "without constraint" (Adoratskij, 1932b: 561–3).

By taking a look at pagination that was done by Marx, Engels, and the editors, one can get a good idea as to how the manuscripts were cut up and later fitted together as a literary collage. In contrast to the 1926 Ryazanov edition in *Marx-Engels-Archiv*, the pagination by Marx (/ . . . /), Engels ({ . . . }), and the editors ([. . .])

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was provided within the text. For example, the first part of "I. Feuerbach" ("*A. Die Ideologie überhaupt, namentlich die deutsche*") has the following order:

/2/, [2a], [2b], [2c], [1?b], [1?c], [2?], {3}, [3b], /62/, /63/, [3b], /4/, [4a], {5}, [5a], [5b], [5c], /11/, /12/, /53/, /13/—/18/, /17/, /18/, /19/, /18/, /19/, /68/, /21/, /22/, /24/—/28/, /8/, /9/, /10/, /9/, /10/, /20/, /21/, /30/—/35/, /34/.

The MEGA1 edition printed textual variants only in the *apparatus criticus*. Though this *apparatus criticus* clearly indicated which corrections in the text were made by Marx (. . . m) and which by Engels (. . . e), it is much harder for the reader to use this to deconstruct the smooth text, in order to follow the thought processes of the authors. The Ryazanov edition of 1926 was in that sense more scientific and scholarly. Still, it is possible to get an insight into the thought processes of the authors, and the editors say explicitly that they "of course" (*selbstverständlich*) provided deleted words or phrases "in the order of the original" (according to the order of Marx's pagination) and not in the order of the edited manuscript. This "discrepancy" between the order of the deleted words or phrases and the edited text could, according to the editors, then be used as an "aid" for the reader to "visualize" the "order of the individual parts of the original manuscript" (Adoratskij, 1932b: 561–5).

Koltan (2002), without providing any historical evidence, argues that the editorial team of volume I/5 of MEGA1 was in firm opposition to "Stalinism." He views the MEGA1 edition of *The German Ideology* as "a small symbol of anti-Stalinist resistance," simply because it provides the reader with information on how to reconstruct the original manuscripts (135). It is certainly true that political developments under the leadership of Stalin had had an influence on the history of editions, mainly since Ryazanov had become a prominent victim of these political developments. But other historical facts must be taken into account as well. Even though it was Adoratskii in the end who published the rearranged text, it must be assumed that it was Ryazanov, long before "Stalinism," who came up with the idea of finishing the work of Marx and Engels. Both editions, the 1926 Ryazanov and the 1932 Adoratskii, are really only interesting interpretations or literary collages of what Marx and Engels had left behind in a very messy, ambiguous, and sometimes enigmatic state.

After all, there is no historical evidence that Marx and Engels actually wanted to finish their critique of Feuerbach in particular after December 1846, when Marx began writing his work *Misère de la philosophie: Réponse à la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon* (*The Poverty of Philosophy: Reply to the Philosophy of Poverty by M. Proudhon*). Terrell Carver (1946–) (1982: 18) correctly points out that in Marx's 1859 "*Vorwort*" to *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*, Marx "highlighted his unfinished, unrevised and unpublished *German Ideology*, wholly inaccessible to his readers and destined in his view (so far as we know) to remain so, saying that in it he and Engels had achieved self-clarification." This is where Marx (1996b: 161), as one of the authors, clearly states that they had deliberately "abandoned the manuscripts . . . all the more willingly" since they had accomplished their "main purpose," which was self-clarification.

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Therefore, any "completion" of the text should not have been published under the name of Marx and Engels, especially not in a "historical-critical" edition that aims to be true to the "rediscovered" manuscripts (see Hecker, 1997b: 18). It could have been published separately as a chrestomathy or digest. However, the Adoratskii edition is not clearly labeled as such. Rather it was published as a "work" by "Marx and Engels" (notwithstanding the fact that the 1932 edition distinguishes between the "original manuscript" and the printed "text which had been edited") (Adoratskij, 1932a: XVII; 1932b: 6, 561–5). As we will show later on in this volume, this strategy was also used by editors outside the USSR and without any political influence from Stalin's Politburo. One has to keep in mind that many facts about the actual historical order of the manuscripts had not been established in the early 1930s. It took scholars another 50 years to acquire knowledge of the chronology of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts written in 1845–46.

Although the constructed chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" published under Adoratskii might be more "coherent" and more readable than the Ryazanov edition, thus making it more suitable for propaganda among the working classes, it cannot be proven that certain interpretations can be drawn only from this edition. Whoever wants to find a "historical-economic schema" (Ryazanov), a "materialist conception of history" (Adoratskii), a "materialist theory of history," or even an early outline of "historical materialism" (Engels) could certainly do so in either one of the two editions of "I. Feuerbach."

As to the other parts of what was published under the title *The German Ideology*, Adoratskii lists a total of 11 additional manuscripts in his introduction to MEGA1. The 1932 edition arranges those manuscripts according to a draft letter (to Carl Friedrich Julius Leske [1821–86], a publisher in Darmstadt), which Marx (1932a: XVII–VIII; 1965a: 448) wrote on August 1, 1846, and in which he spoke of two separate "volumes" (*Bände*). According to this draft letter, the distribution of the 1845–46 manuscripts between the two volumes would be as follows:

1. VOLUME:

"Vorrede" (Preface) by Marx

I. Feuerbach

"*Das Leipziger Konzil*" (which is an introduction to the following two parts)

II. Sankt Bruno

III. Sankt Max
"*Schluß des Leipziger Konzils*" (Close of the Leipzig Council) (which is directly attached to *III. Sankt Max*)

2. VOLUME:

"Der wahre Sozialismus" (True socialism) (which is an introduction to the following five parts)

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"I. Die 'Rheinischen Jahrbücher' oder die Philosophie des wahren Sozialismus" (The "Rheinischen Jahrbücher" or the philosophy of true socialism)

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"IV. Karl Grün: 'Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien' (Darmstadt, 1845) order die Geschichtsschreibung des wahren Sozialismus" (IV. Karl Grün: "The Social Movement in France and Belgium" (Darmstadt, 1845) or the historiography of true socialism)

"V. "Der Dr. Georg Kuhlmann aus Holstein," oder die Prophetie des wahren Sozialismus" (V. "Doctor Georg Kuhlmann of Holstein" or the prophecies of true socialism)

Adoratskii points out that only manuscripts 3–6 of the 1. volume and the manuscripts at the "beginning of the 2. volume" were ready for printing and later on sent from Brussels to Joseph Weydemeyer (1818–66) (a close friend of the two authors) in Germany. By doing so, manuscripts 3 and 4 of the 2. volume might, according to Adoratskii (1932a: XVIII), have gone missing. The MEGA1 edition also renders very detailed information (including two photographs) related to the manuscripts following "1. Feuerbach": manuscripts 3 and 4 of the 1. volume are fair copies, written down by Engels in the left columns of the printer's sheets. The introduction to "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" has no pagination, while "*II. Sankt Bruno*" was paginated by Marx. The fact that these manuscripts were fair copies that were sent over to Germany does not imply that Marx and Engels had made no corrections to the text. There are plenty of insertions and marginal notes in the right-hand columns. Different colored pencils were used. Parts of "III. Sankt Max" are even in the handwriting of Weydemeyer himself, who allegedly copied from manuscripts (now lost) written down by Engels. Some pagination of "*III. Sankt Max*" is done by Marx, but it does not run all the way through.

The manuscripts of the 2. volume are also fair copies written down by Engels in the left columns, again, leaving space for corrections and insertions in the columns on the right-hand side. The printer's sheets of manuscript 1 and 2 (the introduction to "*Der wahre Sozialismus*" and "*Die Rheinischen Jahrbücher*") are numbered, as if the single pages were paginated (1, 5, 9, 13, etc.). Manuscript 4 ("*Karl Grün*") had already been published in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* in 1847 and was again published around 1900 by Bernstein in *Die Neue Zeit* (see Marx, 1899/1900). Here, as in "*III. Sankt Max*," Bernstein also left his comments (written with ink and pencil) on the text. The main writing on "*Karl Grün*" was done by Engels, using the two-column format again. Marx and Engels both made corrections and insertions. The last manuscript ("*Dr. Georg Kuhlmann*") is somewhat different from the others. According to MEGA1 it was written by Heß, but only a fair copy of it, committed to paper by Weydemeyer, has been discovered (see chapter 7). The printer's sheets are numbered by Marx. There are almost no corrections to the text (Adoratskij, 1932b: 583–640).

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The text of *The German Ideology* in MEGA1 is printed in modernized German. The two-column format was not reflected in the edited text. Abbreviations are written out in full. Wherever the photographs—taken by the staff of the MEI in the 1920s—were unreadable or the manuscripts had been "damaged," the editors generously provided their suggestions about the missing content in parentheses. This is also the case in the many places where the "gnawing criticism of the mice" can allegedly be observed. But mostly only single words are missing, and the editors probably never had their photographs examined by any expert on the nineteenth-century eating habits of the infamous *mus musculus domesticus*, also known as the West European house mouse. There is just *one* case where the editors comment that "the mice ate this page into two halves and by doing so they gobbled up the text of the insertion" (Adoratskij, 1932b: 594). The MEGA1 edition of *The German Ideology*, therefore, proved wrong all those—such as Bernstein and Mehring—who had previously argued that the mice had often left behind only "little pieces" and "fragments" (see Rjazanov, 1925: 389; Mehring, 1976: 120).

The German Landshut and Mayer Edition of 1932

By the time the MEGA1 edition was printed, another, but incomplete, edition of *The German Ideology* as a "book" had just been published in Germany (the editorial details will be discussed in chapter 4) (Rojahn, 1998b: 148). This edition was part of an anthology that comprised the "early works" of Marx. It was entitled *Karl Marx: Der historische Materialismus: Die Frühschriften* (Karl Marx: historical materialism: the early writings); its editors were Siegfried Landshut (1897–1968) and Jacob Peter Mayer (1903–92). In their search through the archive of the Social Democratic Party of Germany they were assisted by Friedrich Salomon. What they came up with was something that Ryazanov, who had rummaged through the archive years before, had certainly also "discovered."

The two-volume compilation by Landshut and Mayer became famous, because it circulated, almost simultaneously, with volume I/3 of MEGA1, the hitherto unpublished 1844 "Paris manuscripts" by Marx. For the first time, these manuscripts on "*Nationalökonomie und Philosophie*" (Political economy and philosophy), as they were later entitled, were made available to the public (Blumenberg, 1962: 59). Although this so-called early work by Marx is definitely not part of what is known to us as *The German Ideology*, it provides, according to some commentators, a clear account of the philosophical and ideological influences Marx was under before he wrote the 1845–46 manuscripts (see Oiserman, 1965: 12–13; McLellan, 1974: 118–32; Koltan, 1995: 54–60). In 1844, Marx was still arguing that workers in capitalist societies had become "alienated" from their abstract "species-being" (*Gattungswesen*), which allegedly inheres in the "human being" in general. Only in a "communist society," as the antithesis to capitalism, could this "self-estrangement" (*Selbstentfremdung*) be superseded (Marx, 1994b: 71–83; 1968a: 510–22, 533–46).

However, Marx then apparently abandoned these "metaphysical" remnants in the manuscripts of 1845–46, where he substitutes for the purely theoretical

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contradiction between the "human being" and the "human essence" the real historical contradictions between "the development of the productive forces," "forms of [human] interaction" (*Verkehrsformen*) and various "secondary forms" such as class struggles, battles of ideas, political struggles, and so on (Marx and Engels, 1994: 142, 165). Any abstract philosophical "human essence" (*menschliches Wesen*) can be seen as the exact opposite of the empirical "individuals," who form the "presuppositions" for Marx's analyses of the historical process in what is known to us now as *The German Ideology* (123).

In 1845–46, Marx adopts much of the strict nominalist approach employed by Stirner (1991: 201) in his book *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (*The Ego and Its Own*) of 1844. As a result it becomes plausible that Marx from then on makes fun of German philosophers like Feuerbach and political theorists like Grün, who are trying to convince their readers that the "alienation" they observed could only be superseded by all kinds of speculative and utopian ideas on how to "realise the essence of the human being" and to establish the "true [*wahre*] society" (Marx and Engels, 1994: 133–4; 1932a: 435–37; Marx, 1959a: 485–8).

This short account of Marx's intellectual development, culminating in the antiphilosophical comment in the 1845–46 manuscripts—that "with the presentation of reality, independent philosophy loses its medium of existence"—is not shared, however, by Landshut and Mayer (1994: 125; Landshut and Mayer, 1932: XIII). Landshut and Mayer argue instead that this account is a common "misunderstanding" by "Marxists" and "anti-Marxists" alike. In their view, Marx was mainly a philosopher, and all of his later writings must be viewed as philosophical works, even though other subjects such as economics and politics were under discussion. In their 1932 "*Einleitung der Herausgeber*" (Introduction by the publishers), they maintain that the 1844 manuscripts provide the key to understanding the underlying idealism in Marx's writings. They argue that it was in fact Marx himself who acknowledged the existence of some sort of objective Hegelian world spirit, which is allegedly the driving force behind all human history. The ultimate goal of this history would then be a teleological realization of an abstract Feuerbachian "human being" in the perfect society.

Landshut and Mayer (1932: XXXVIII–XLI), furthermore, claim that the theory about this "self-development of the idea" was later on referred to as "historical materialism," but it was Marx all along who had made use of this theory in his works. They maintain that Marx had analyzed history in the following way:

> It is not the case that the conception of the existing proletariat was the prerequisite for the formulation of historical materialism—since the formation of the proletariat was only just beginning—but in reverse: historical materialism, i.e. the conception that ongoing history is the realisation of the idea through itself is prerequisite for the appreciation of the role of the proletariat. (XXXV)

Landshut and Mayer, strangely enough, do not blame Marx for using some form of "historical materialism" allegedly imbued with Hegelian idealist phenomenology.

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In fact, they even claim that the theory of "historical materialism" is not only a way to understand fully Marx's writings, but, more importantly, to understand history itself. By using the 1845–46 manuscripts as a source for their interpretation, they maintain that Marx did not care much about the "socialisation [*Vergesellschaftung*] of the means of production" and about the "elimination of private ownership"—nor even about communism itself (XXXVIII). All of this could not be considered as the "real goal" of human history and is, therefore, "senseless." Instead, the "real goal" of Marx's "real humanism" could only be achieved when the abstract "human being" becomes the "highest essence" for the human being itself, or as Marx (1973: 171–2) still wrote in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* of 1844, that "man is the supreme being for man." Only then could one speak of the "realisation of the moral [*sittlichen*] idea," and this realization was allegedly the only concern of the "philosopher" Karl Marx (1932: XXXVIII–XLI).

Landshut and Mayer's interpretation of Marx's writings can be judged as a very late resurrection of what Marx and Engels had thoroughly criticized as "German or true socialism" in their 1848 *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei* (*Manifesto of the Communist Party*). Here Marx and Engels (1996: 24) described the aims of this particular strand of "socialist literature" as neglecting the "the struggle of one class against another," substituting for the "true requirements" of the working class some abstract "requirement of truth" and for the "interests of the proletariat" the "interest of the human essence." Thus, these writers could only have been concerned with "man in general, of man belonging to no class or to any actuality at all, but to the misty realm of philosophical fantasy."

By interpreting Marx's literary work in its full extent as having been driven by a purely intellectual quest for some "true goal" of history, where the "true purpose of the human being" was being realized in a society "free of all alien powers," Landshut and Mayer in 1932 were taking an anti-Soviet stance. Although the USSR was not mentioned by name, there can be no doubt that they were trying to make the point that some things that had happened in the Soviet Union (the only socialist country at the time), such as the socialization of private property, the introduction of a planned economy, and the "dictatorship of the proletariat," were definitely not what Marx had in mind. Landshut and Mayer (1932: XXXVIII) summed up their political views on how Marx's writings, including what has become known as *The German Ideology*, should be read, by saying: "All of what communism, as an expression, is normally associated with and what is understood by communism today, Marx himself, in anticipation, clearly disapproved of." These were among the last words to be heard from German anti-Soviet "Marxism," and then 12 years of German Fascism commenced.

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Chapter Four

Two Popular Study Editions at the Beginning of the "Cold War"

The West German Landshut Edition of 1953

Eight years after Germany was liberated from fascism by the Allied Forces, Landshut republished *The German Ideology* in his anthology *Karl Marx: Die Frühschriften* (*Karl Marx: The Early Writings*). This one-volume collection of Marx's so-called early writings was essentially a new postwar edition of the 1932 two-volume publication *Karl Marx: Der historische Materialismus: Die Frühschriften* (see chapter 3). There are several noteworthy differences between these two publications, but the most interesting can be found in the particular way that *The German Ideology* was published.

It is up for speculation whether the middle-class publishing house Alfred Kröner Verlag, which published both the 1932 and the 1953 editions, had some influence on the selection and length of the printed writings. However, Landshut certainly did, and in one particular case, that of *The German Ideology*, we have the testimony from Landshut himself as to exactly why he chose to shorten the edited text. Landshut commented on the astounding fact that the 1953 edition of *The German Ideology* is almost 400 pages (out of 530 pages) shorter than the 1932 edition by saying that only the part dealing with Feuerbach would be of "positive importance." Much as Mehring (1976: 120) in 1918 called *The German Ideology* a "long-winded hyper-polemic" and even worse than the "darkest chapters" of *Die Heilige Familie*, Landshut (2004a: 56–7) described Marx and Engels's criticism of Stirner as "long-winded," "unedifying," and "acrobatic shadow-boxing" (*akrobatische Klopffechterei*). While at least some very heavily abridged paragraphs of "*III. Sankt Max*" were included in the 1953 edition, the important materials concerning the "true socialists" were completely omitted.

The reason for Landshut's negative judgment on "*III. Sankt Max*" and particularly on Marx and Engels's criticism of the "true socialists" becomes obvious by taking a look at the "Einleitung" (introduction) to the 1953 publication *Karl Marx: Die Frühschriften*. The introduction is signed only by Landshut himself, the editor of the 1953 edition, although he included large parts of the earlier "*Einleitung der Herausgeber*" on the quiet, which he had written together with Mayer for the

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1932 edition (see 2004a: 33–8; Landshut and Mayer, 1932: XXI–VI). The parts of the introduction written in 1953 clearly reveal Landshut's aim of providing further proof for Marx's alleged "idealism."

In order to do this, Landshut presented a whole array of arguments. First of all, he claimed that the "societal and political changes of the last fifty years" were predominantly "determined" by the "articulated thoughts" of Marx (2004a). These thoughts allegedly "determined" history with such a "force" that "all wars and state-actions [*Staatsaktionen*] appear only as accompanying circumstances" (20). Landshut then provided the reader with a short account of Marx's intellectual development, which, according to Landshut, ended more or less at the age of 26 or 27, when Marx wrote his 1844 manuscripts on "*Nationalökonomie und Philosophie*." At this time, Marx allegedly attained the "highest point of his [intellectual] position" (41).

Consequently, according to Landshut (2004a), in the "first chapter" of *The German Ideology*, which was written after the 1844 manuscripts, Marx merely spelled out his knowledge about the "basic character of the human being" in general. However, from then on, his "whole life's work" was allegedly dedicated to only "one goal": "the exposure of the inner necessity, why the highly developed contradictions of existing reality would eventually resolve themselves" (46). This mystical "goal," which Landshut attributed somehow to Marx's "whole life's work," was supposedly also the driving force behind Hegel's philosophical work (32). Marx not only shared with Hegel this "certainty of a general principle" in history and the "inner desire" for philosophizing, he was also "maybe the most true Hegelian" himself (24, 30). According to Landshut, Marx was constantly looking for the "idea" in "reality," in order to unite "reason" with "reality." This was "indeed the philosophical guiding principle, which Marx adopted from Hegel, and which dominated his whole life's work" (26).

However, Marx must have surpassed even Hegel's idealism, when Landshut (2004a: 44–5) writes with reference to Marx's "so-called 'materialist conception of history'":

> Behind this whole monumental outline [*Aufriß*] of history, as a constantly expanding alienation of the human being, stands, however, the equally monumental idealist belief, that it would be at the same time the work of history "to establish the truth of this life" [*die Wahrheit des Diesseits zu etablieren*]—the philosophy, i.e. the realisation of the idea through itself. While the philosopher Hegel was not at all so extravagant [*phantastisch*] as to identify all the things as reasonable which Marx validated as reality, and on the other hand did not cherish any idealistic expectations of reality, the whole realism of Marx's insight builds upon the idealistic belief in the real and complete unification of the idea and reality, of reason and reality. (48)

Finally, having established these "truths" about the "true goals" behind Marx's "whole life's work" and the "true goals of history" in general, Landshut repeats in a solemn tone what had already been said in the 1932 edition. It all comes down to the claim that the "alienation of the human being" could only be superseded by the abstract realization of the "true purpose of the human being" (52–4).

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Since we have already discussed Marx and Engels's fundamental criticism of this form of "German or true socialism" in chapter 3, there is no need for repetition. However, it is not surprising that Landshut deliberately omitted those parts of the 1845–46 manuscripts that dealt with "German socialism and its various prophets." The entire "second volume" of what has become known as *The German Ideology*, full of critical remarks against "true socialists" like Grün, did not find its way into Landshut's 1953 "early-writings" edition.

The 1953 Landshut edition of what was entitled *The German Ideology* subsequently became one of the most popular editions in West Germany. The anthology *Karl Marx: Die Frühschriften* was republished seven times, and its latest edition of 2004 even features a complete new "*Geleitwort*" (Accompanying word) by the West German scholar Oskar Negt (1934–). Although Landshut had carefully framed his reading by omitting important texts by Marx and Engels, which would certainly have compromised his own "true socialist" and "Hegelian" interpretation of the "early writings," no substantial corrections were made after Landshut's death on December 8, 1968. Furthermore, Negt (2004: 7) claimed emphatically in his "*Geleitwort*" that the 1953 edition had made an "aspect of Marx" visible in the West that had allegedly been "mostly suppressed" by "Soviet-Marxist influenced interpretation."

The deeper truth of this reproach can be found in the "*Editorische und überlieferungsgeschichtliche Anmerkungen*" (Remarks on editing and historical background), which were also published in the seventh edition of 2004. Here the new editors of the anthology, Oliver Heins and Richard Sperl, openly admitted that whoever wants to study Marx's "learning process" between 1837 and 1848 should not rely on the Landshut edition. In contrast to the "*Geleitwort*" by Negt, the new editors recommended the *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe* (MEGA2), which, ironically, had been initiated and then worked on by both the East German and the Soviet Institute of Marxism-Leninism until 1990 (Landshut, 2004b: 631). By taking a look at MEGA2 anyone can see that Negt was certainly right in saying that this Hegelian-idealist "aspect of Marx," as contained in the garbled Landshut edition, was "mostly suppressed" by "Soviet-Marxist influenced interpretation." After all, it was even "mostly suppressed" by Marx himself.

The 1953 republication of *The German Ideology* (together with other so-called early writings by Marx) took place in a new historical situation. The theoretical struggles within the workers' movement of the 1920s and the early 1930s seemed to be long over. Only very few publications of this prewar period, which had made use of new insights gained by reading the 1845–46 manuscripts, were published again after the war. However, there were some, and among these, to take one of the most prominent examples, was Wilhelm Reich's *Die Massenpsychologie des Faschismus* (*The Mass Psychology of Fascism*).

Although first published in 1933 and 1934, it was soon after, in 1935, banned by the German fascist *Geheime Staatspolizei* (Secret State-Police) (Reich, 1997: 17). Reich (1897–1957) used several references from what became known to us as *The German Ideology* in order to underpin his assertion that the Soviet-influenced

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"vulgar-Marxists" did not take ideological and in particular psychological influences on human history into account. According to Reich's first chapter "*Die Ideologie als materielle Gewalt*" (Ideology as a material force), Marxism had degenerated in the hands of Marxist politicians into an agglomeration of "hollow formulas." He claimed that "lively methods had been turned into formulas, scientific analyses of facts into rigid schemata" (30, 38, 43).

The postwar period was a time, as Negt put it in his "*Geleitwort*," to revive "torn strands of tradition" (*abgerissene Traditionsfäden*). Reich's anti-Soviet criticism could certainly be counted among those "traditions" that needed revitalization in West Germany. Therefore, whoever wanted to research the intellectual origins of political thought, articulated in books like Reich's *Massenpsychologie des Faschismus*, must have been interested in a new German-language edition of *The German Ideology*. After all, one can argue that there were much deeper-rooted political reasons for the publication of the 1845–46 manuscripts than just the simple need to republish books by authors like Heinrich Mann (1871–1950), Erich Kästner (1899–1974), Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), Kurt Tucholsky (1890–1935), and Karl Marx, which had been publicly burned by German Fascists on May 10, 1933 (Michalka, 2003: 709). West German scholars in particular were eager to utilize the so-called early writings by Marx, which could allegedly be used to denounce the "hollow formulas" of Soviet Marxism, within the framework of the new political situation at the beginning of the "Cold War."

In a subchapter of Negt's "*Geleitwort*" to Marx's "early works," entitled *"Die Wirkungsgeschichte der 'Frühschriften'"* (The historical influence of the "early works"), Negt drew the attention of his readers to the fact that the "Cold War" situation had had a significant impact on "the history of editions." Two political incidents within this "Cold War" situation were specifically named by Negt (2003):

> The death of J.V. Stalin in March 1953. Both supporters and critics of the USSR under Stalin's political leadership agreed on the fact that Stalin's death marked the beginning of an ideological revision of "Soviet-Marxist" theory. Ultimately this about-face in Marxist-Leninist theory also led to a change in the political working style of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), which was implemented shortly after the 20th Party Conference in February 1956. (873–4; 2004: 14)
>
> The short-lived political demonstration in the German Democratic Republic, which occurred around 17 June 1953. While the former West German President Heinrich Lübke (1894–1972) talked in 1963 about a "national uprising" against the "chains of foreign [i.e., Soviet] tyranny" in the "Eastern zone," East German historiography claimed that it was a "counter-revolutionary coup attempt" backed by West German media, foreign secret services and infiltrated agents provocateur. (Lübke, 1963; ZGAW, 1979: 636–7; Negt, 2004: 14)

According to Negt, there were "cracks" within the communist "system of rule" in 1953. These "cracks" were then allegedly used by a few East European intellectuals in order to question the "Leninist-bent Marx-texts cited by party and state-official cartels" (*partei- und staatsoffiziellen Zitierkartelle leninistisch verbogener Marxtexte*).

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Apart from the lack of clarity, what Negt actually meant when he spoke of "Leninist-bent Marx-texts" was that "nothing threatened the frail legitimisation of power" of the socialist states more than those writings by Marx in which the "dignity of the human being is centred in his thoughts." Landshut's (2004: 14) publication of such writings, where the "dignity of the human being is centred" in Marx's thoughts, allegedly anticipated the "insurrection in Hungary" (1956) and the "intellectual rebellion in the GDR" (1966).

Thanks to Jürgen Rojahn's 1998 article "*Editionen im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Wissenschaft*" (Editions in the flash point between politics and science), such an oversimplistic view of historical events can be ruled out. Rojahn's exposition reminds us that Marx's "early writings," including the 1844 "Paris manuscripts" and what has become known as *The German Ideology*, had already been published by the Soviet-state financed MEGA1 (1927–41). And also in the GDR several collections of "early philosophical works" and other so-called early writings had been published between 1953 and 1955. So if the "frail legitimisation of power" of the socialist states had indeed been "threatened" by these writings in which Marx allegedly centered "the dignity of the human being" in his thoughts, as Negt claimed, why then did the leadership of the Soviet Union and the GDR keep on publishing them? Even in 1956, the year of the "insurrection in Hungary," the USSR published an all-new Russian-language edition of the "early works." Finally, Rojahn (1998a: 161–2) argued with regard to the 1844 "Paris manuscripts," that "while there was increasing silence concerning the 'manuscripts' in noncommunist literature, an opposite trend could be observed in communist literature."

The real question was never whether the USSR or the GDR did or did not publish "early writings" such as the ones known to us as *The German Ideology*, but rather how they were interpreted by Marxists in the Soviet Union and the GDR. The widely held assertion that socialist countries deliberately suppressed the publication of "early writings" by Marx and Engels was of a more rhetorical nature. After all, it was mainly the specific interpretation of these "early writings" in the East that bothered Western intellectuals of the 1950s. This becomes even more obvious when Negt wrote about the political and ideological background of scholars like Landshut. In fact the driving force behind the republication of the "early works" in West Germany was the *Marxismus-Kommission* (Commission for Marxism) founded by the newly established West German Protestant Academies.

The main organ of this Christian commission was *Marxismusstudien* (Marxism-Studies), which was published with the subtitle: "Writings of the Protestant study-community." Among the contributors to this Christian periodical were many well-known scholars such as Erich Thier (1902–), Iring Fetscher (1922–), Ralf Gustav Dahrendorf (1929–), Theo Pirker (1922–95), and also Siegfried Landshut. The sole aim of *Marxismusstudien* was to promote the "reassessment" of works by Marx. According to Negt (2004), many "self-conscious Christians" at the time allegedly felt the need to "combine the spectacular reconstruction [of West Germany] with a spiritual and intellectual renewal." They wanted to "combine the Christian value system" with the "democratic-humanistic tradition of this-worldly

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[*innerweltlicher*] social change"; the Protestant Academies wanted to "return Marx to humanism and the Christian value system." After the "collapse" (*sic*) of fascist Germany, which left the "modern human being" in a state of "inner conflict" (*Selbstzerissenheit*), these German "undogmatic socialists" wanted to support capitalist "reconstruction" with a new "attempt at anthropological justification" (*anthropologischer Begründungsversuch*). In his 2004 "*Geleitwort*" to the latest republication of the 1953 Landshut edition of *The German Ideology*, Negt described the work of the *Marxismus-Kommission* as "very successful" (14–15).

Finally, let us look at the edition itself. *The German Ideology*, as published in 1953 by Landshut, comprised the following texts and fragments:

"*Vorrede*" (written by Marx alone)

"*I. Feuerbach*" "*Gegensatz von materialistischer und idealistischer Anschauung*" (basically a reprint of the 1926 Ryazanov edition)

"*III. Sankt Max*" (only in fragments)

Landshut decided for some reason to adopt Ryazanov's ordering of the manuscripts. But although many text variants had been provided within the 1926 edition of "*I. Feuerbach*" by Ryazanov, Landshut omitted most of the important variants in order to smooth out the text. Only very few of these were provided in Landshut's footnotes. The so-called chapter "*III. Sankt Max*" is incomplete with no indication of abridgement from Landshut (2004b), who only rendered those parts of "*III. Sankt Max*" that dealt with "questions of landed property and private property in general, as well as the state and the law," as explained by the later editors. Thus he deliberately excluded most of the "polemical passages" in "*III. Sankt Max*" (648). We can only understand this if we assume that these "polemical passages" were as hostile to Landshut's (2004a: 56–7) own "true socialist" and "Hegelian" beliefs as the other parts of the 1845–46 manuscripts ("*Das Leipziger Konzil*," "*Sankt Bruno*," and "*Der wahre Sozialismus*") that he had intentionally excluded as of lesser importance.

The East German *Marx-Engels-Werke* Edition of 1958

In 1953, the *Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands* (Socialist Unity Party of Germany—SED) of the GDR commissioned the East German *Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus* (Institute of Marxism-Leninism—IML) to publish a German-language edition of works by Marx and Engels. This *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition, which in the end comprised 42 volumes, was published between 1956 and 1968 (Gemkow, 1978: 11). However, only four years after the founding of the GDR in 1949, East Germany did not have enough experts in the field of editing works by Marx and Engels. Furthermore, most of the original handwritten manuscripts by the two authors were not directly accessible for Germans at the time, since they had been saved from the German fascists in 1933 by taking them abroad to Denmark and then later on via The Netherlands to England (1938). After the war, in 1946, they were returned to The Netherlands and stored away in the *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, Amsterdam (Harstick, 1973: 202–22; U. Balzer in a telephone

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conversation of September 13, 2007). Only in the USSR were there well-trained editors and tens of thousands of photographs of the manuscripts (see chapter 2).

Therefore, and also for obvious political reasons, East Berlin's IML relied heavily on help from the Soviet Union. According to Ruth Stolz, a young woman who took part in editing the German-language *Marx-Engels-Werke* in the 1950s, there were only 10–12 people working in the *Marx-Engels-Abteilung* (Marx-Engels Department) of the East German IML at the very beginning. Most of the editors (such as Ludwig Arnold and Bernhard Dohm) had just come back from the war, where they had fought in the ranks of the Soviet Red Army against fascist Germany. Interestingly enough, Stolz recalled (1978: 93) that they all "did not know a thing about editorial work" and did not possess the historical knowledge about the writings of Marx and Engels that "would have been necessary for this kind of task."

It was during preparatory work for the German *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition that the Central Committee of the CPSU also reached the decision to publish a new Russian edition of works by Marx and Engels. The first Marx-Engels-Works edition in Russian had already been published between 1928 and 1947. However, a second edition became necessary, because the first one was not only incomplete, but also the *apparatus criticus* needed political revision (IMLSU, 1956: XXI–II). And since Moscow's IML, with all its experts and plenty of financial backing from the CPSU, was now once again engaged in editing an updated Russian edition between 1955 and 1966, it is not surprising that the East German editors simply decided to rely on "fraternal help" from their comrades in the Soviet Union. Thus the second Russian edition of the works of Marx and Engels became the "basis" on which the German *Marx-Engels-Werke* "rested" (Mtschedlow, 1978: 20–1; Dlubek, 1978: 73; Stolz, 1978: 94). At this point it is necessary to consider the history of Russian-language editions of what became known as *The German Ideology* even more closely.

After the 1932 MEGA1 "historical-critical" edition of *The German Ideology* as a single-volume "book" was published by Adoratskii, two Russian-language study editions appeared in the USSR. The first one was published in 1933 and the second one in 1955 (see Marx and Engels, 1933a; 1955). Both of them were part of the two successive editions of the Marx-Engels-Works in Russian, and both were based on the 1932 MEGA1 edition (IMLSU, 1978: 15). The only difference between these two editions was that the 1955 Marx-Engels-Works edition was more precise in its translation and offered more footnotes by the Soviet editors (G. Bagaturija in a telephone conversation of April 1, 2006).

In 1958, the East German IML published volume 3 of the *Marx-Engels-Werke*, which comprised mainly materials that were grouped together and entitled *The German Ideology*. In contrast to the 1953 Landshut edition, the 1958 edition once again rendered all the manuscripts that were then available in German. This is an important historical moment simply because this particular "standard work" became part of the *Marx-Engels-Werke*, which from then on could be found in most university libraries in East and West Germany. The "blue volumes," as the *Marx-Engels-Werke* were called (due to their blue covers), were the most comprehensive edition of works by Marx and Engels at the time (Gemkow, 1978: 11).

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If anyone, whether student or professor, whether in East or West, talked or wrote about *The German Ideology*, he or she most certainly meant *The German Ideology* as published in *Marx-Engels-Werke*, volume 3 (Semler, 2004). Furthermore, it was not the ordering of the different manuscripts that bothered critical readers, since there was only very little published as yet on the complex history of the origins of the manuscripts and the political circumstances of the various editions so far. It was rather the "*Vorwort*" (Foreword), taken in its full length from the second Russian edition of 1955 and translated into German, which attracted critical comment or was simply ignored (see Rojahn, 1998a: 150–3).

However, one should look not only at the "*Vorwort*," translated from Russian, to volume 3, but also at the editors' "*Vorwort*" to the entire *Marx-Engels-Werke*, translated from Russian into German. In the latter "*Vorwort*" as well as in a further "*Vorwort*" to the entire edition, signed by the East German IML, one finds rather more political and ideological statements, whereas in the "*Vorwort*" to volume 3 there are only superficial references to this ideology in relation to the "Theses on Feuerbach" and to what was published under the title *The German Ideology*.

There are two important points here: The two forewords to the entire *Marx-Engels-Werke* (1955 and 1956) were written before or very shortly after the twentieth Party Conference of the CPSU in 1956, at which N. S. Khrushchev (1894–1971) initiated the so-called de-Stalinization process. However, the political influence of the Stalin era can be detected throughout both forewords. Most notably, it is possible to find a hypothesis that Stalin mentioned in his 1938 work *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, which was very widely translated and circulated. Here Stalin (1945) argued that

> [h]istorical materialism is the extension of the principles of dialectical materialism to the study of social life, an application of the principles of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society, to the study of society and of its history . . . Hence, the science of the history of society, despite all the complexity of the phenomena of social life, can become as precise a science as, let us say, biology . . . (569)

In the 1956 foreword to the entire edition of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* the East German editors repeated this hypothesis almost word for word, but ascribed its origin to Marx and Engels themselves. They also claimed that the principles of "dialectical materialism," which deal (according to a Soviet/GDR university textbook of 1958) in the first place with "eternal and developing matter, with [nonhuman] nature," could be "extended" (*ausgedehnt*) to the "phenomena of social life" (AdW, 1959: 125). Hence, the "intellectual life of society" would be determined predominantly by its "material life," which for them was synonymous with "economic processes." Finally, the editors argued that "a new and higher order of society would derive from law-governed economic development" (IMLSED, 1956: XI).

Although the German editors' "*Vorwort*" to the entire edition clearly renounced the "personality cult" within the workers' party, in accord with Khrushchev's "secret speech" of 1956, the ideological legacy of Stalin lived on (AdW, 1959: 121). By the theory of "historical materialism," a word that Landshut often used in his 1932 edition, but deliberately shunned in his introduction to the 1953 edition, the East

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German editors understood a method that allegedly helps scientists to "reveal" the "objective laws of social development" (IMLSED, 1956: XI). The editors of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* were eager to underline their belief that "objective laws," which scientists found in nonhuman nature, could also be observed in the historical development of society. In conclusion, it is not because real people make conscious actions to change the course of their history, but rather because abstract laws, especially "economic laws," are supposedly the determining force in human history (IMLSU, 1958: VIII).

The mystical belief that "objective laws of social development" do not only constrain human development, but eventually (all by themselves) further it, was expressed by the Soviet editors of the 1955 IML "*Vorwort*" when they maintained that "the triumph of socialism and democracy over the forces of imperialism and reaction is an unalterable law of our time" (IMLSU, 1956: XXV). In the "*Vorwort*" to volume 3 of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* (1958) the Soviet editors also stressed that Marx and Engels's "drawing up" of "historical materialism" occupied the "main space" in *The German Ideology*. Here, Marx and Engels had allegedly discovered the "economic laws" that inhere in capitalist production and which will "inevitably" lead to communist revolution (IMLSU, 1958: IX, X). This belief in a god-like objective (economic) force, which is determining for human activities and which will "inevitably" push history toward a favorable socialist revolution and the subsequent construction of socialism, can only be described as antiemancipatory.

This is because the human being is allegedly dependent on abstract and "objective laws of social development," rather than taking history into human hands and thus being at the center of its own world. This idealist belief in "economic processes," which are somehow independent of interactions among humans and their interactions with "nature," is discussed in the Methodological Excursus to this volume. Following the expositions of Marx and Engels in the 1845–46 manuscripts, we argue there that history has to be seen as a unified whole that comprises not only the practical changing of "nature" by human beings, the influence of "material living conditions" on human beings and the active satisfaction of ever-developing needs by successive generations, but also includes "human consciousness." Without human interactions among themselves and with "nature," human beings could not consciously produce their food in any kind of economic process, so "economic laws," as described by Marx, for example, in his magnum opus *Capital*, would simply not exist. In short: the existence or nonexistence of any "economic law" is always dependent on historical interactions of real human beings among themselves and their interactions with "nature," and not the other way around.

Our arguments, of course, do not exclude any historical situation where one can observe "a social process that goes on behind the backs of the producers" and where the human being is "governed by the products of his own hand" (Marx, 1954: 51–2, 582). The problem is not whether one can observe "economic laws" like the "law of value" or the "general law of capitalist accumulation" (77, 574–666). The real question is whether human beings actively create social forms of production in which one can find these economic (not natural!) laws operating, or if these laws exist somewhere by themselves, very much like Hegel's "*Weltgeist*" (world spirit), so

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all social forms of production would be merely dependent "emanations" of these abstract laws (Hegel, 1861: 26; 1995: 40).

Human beings can temporarily be subjected under their own (economic, etc.) creations, but it is also humans who have the ability consciously to free themselves as soon as they acquire the material and intellectual means to do so. After all, "human freedom" is much more than Hegel's and Engels's "*Einsicht in die Notwendigkeit*" (insight into necessity) (see Hegel, 1861: 21–56; 1995: 33–74; Engels, 1987: 105). Following the example of Marx's (1958: 7) Eleventh "Thesis on Feuerbach," we observe that human freedom is also a very self-conscious and self-determined change of reality.

A new form of ideology, "scientific and materialist," emerged from this belief in the alleged omnipotence of nature-like "laws" in history. This ideology was used later on to explain and justify many political developments in socialist countries such as the USSR and the GDR. Political slogans, such as the "irreversible advance of socialism," the "unstoppable growth of the might of the working class," the "irrefutable corroboration of Marxist-Leninist theory" and "socialist construction" in accordance with "objective laws of social development" raised illusions among the working classes that there is no need to get actively involved in the struggles of their time. Slogans like these arguably paralyzed working-class initiatives within socialist and capitalist countries alike (see Fiedler et al., 1974: 9–18). In the end, and even though parties like the East German SED (1976: 8) were allegedly guided by "universally applicable laws of socialist revolution and socialist construction," the defeat of the "socialist world system" came to many as an unexpected and unforeseen event. Somehow "scientific socialism" was not so scientific after all.

Apart from the first point, which—as described earlier—deals with the ideological belief in self-fulfilling "objective laws of social development," there is also a second point: the need for widely propagating this "ideology of the proletariat" (IMLSU, 1956: XXII). While in the 1845–46 manuscripts Marx and Engels referred to "ideologies" in only a very pejorative way, the East German editors of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* stressed their view that Marx and Engels provided "the proletariat with an all-embracing and scientific ideology for its fight for liberation" (IMLSED, 1956: XIV). While Marx and Engels distinguished explicitly between "ideologies" of the ruling bourgeoisie and the "revolutionary thoughts" of the working class, the East German editors of the *Marx-Engels-Werke*, in their euphoria over the supposed "irreversible advance of socialism," produced a confusion between their ideas and what Marx and Engels (2004: 41) called "ideology" (see Carver, 1991a: 6–9).

This can be exemplified further by looking at the way the editors talked about their "ideology" known as "Marxism-Leninism." Again, just as with the objective "laws of history," a new historical subject, independent of human beings as the only real, active, and self-conscious subjects in history, was created. All by itself, Marxism-Leninism allegedly "extended its world-changing supremacy over a quarter of the globe," and "it" supposedly "conquers ever stronger the hearts and minds of the working people." Only "it" can "lead humanity out of decay, impoverishment, crisis

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and war." Marxism-Leninism was portrayed as an "ideology" that is "all defeating." After the editors put so much trust in their miracle-working "ideology," it is not surprising that they claimed that it is "without doubt" that also in West Germany Marxism-Leninism will soon be "victorious," simply because Marxism-Leninism is the "embodiment of the deepest yearning of the West German people" (IMLSED, 1956: XVII–IX). However, looking back on history the West German people must have "yearned" for something else and "Marxism-Leninism" was not as "all defeating" as one might have thought.

If these editors had read what has become known as *The German Ideology* only once, then they would have found exactly what Marx and Engels (1968f: 473) had to say about the historical relationship among ideologies, ideologists, and social relations: "It is to be noted here, as in general with ideologists, that they inevitably put the thing upside-down and regard their ideology both as the creative force and as the aim of all social relations, whereas it is only an expression and symptom of these relations." Finally, the dependence of these editors on Stalin's ideas once again becomes obvious when they explain in detail what they consider to be part of the "all-embracing and scientific ideology" Marxism-Leninism. Their list, comprising the "hegemony of the proletariat in the bourgeois-democratic revolution," the "doctrine of the alliance between the socialist workers' movement and the anti-imperialist movement in the colonies," the "doctrine of the alliance between the proletariat and the working peasantry," and the "doctrine of the dictatorship of the proletariat" can all be found (but in reverse order) in Stalin's lectures *The Foundations of Leninism* delivered at Sverdlov University in 1924 (IMLSED, 1956: XIV; Stalin, 1947: 9–100).

"Chronology" and "Text-Rendition" in the 1958 Edition of *The German Ideology*

In accordance with Adoratskii's (2001: 117) plans of 1931, in which he proclaimed that a "popular mass-edition of the works by Marx and Engels" will be prepared by the Marx-Engels-Institute in Moscow, the Soviet editors of the second Russian-language Marx-Engels-Works (1955–66) dedicate their work to a "broad readership." These editors conclude that their edition is not to be judged as "a complete, academic edition of all works by Marx and Engels," and this view is reproduced in translation in the German-language *Marx-Engels-Werke* (1956–68), which was, as already mentioned, "based on" the second Russian edition (IMLSU, 1956: XXII). Clearly both editions give special emphasis to the propagandistic aspect of the writings of Marx and Engels. Thus the Soviet and East German editors of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* never claimed that their edition, including, for example, what was published under the title *The German Ideology*, should be considered "historical-critical." The 1958 edition of *The German Ideology* must therefore be categorized as a study edition (see our Methodological Excursus). This is irrespective of the fact that subsequently many scholars in East and West have treated this 1958 edition as if it were meant to be "historical-critical."

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In a short note by the editors, found at the very beginning of volume 3 (*The German Ideology*) of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* (1958), the reader is briefly informed that "the texts will be rendered according to the manuscripts, in the first instance, and publications of Marx and Engels during their lifetimes" (IMLSED, 1958c: IV). However, if one takes into consideration that in 1958 two completely different versions of the so-called Feuerbach chapter had been available to German-speaking readers for over a quarter of a century (the 1932 Adoratskii and the 1932 Landshut and Mayer editions), it is astounding that nothing was said at this point about the controversial ordering of the fragments. Only in a footnote at the very end of the volume do the editors claim innocently that "the determination of the subheadings and the arrangement of the materials in the chapter 'Feuerbach' was done on the basis of remarks by Marx and Engels on the margins of the manuscripts" (IMLSED, 1958a: 548). These East German editors deliberately tried to keep quiet not only about their own sources but also about the entire previous political history of editions.

The main source for these editors was indeed not only the second Russian edition of 1955, but—more importantly—Adoratskii's 1932 "historical-critical" *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe*. This becomes clear if one compares the ordering of the manuscripts in the two texts, especially the so-called chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" (IMES, 2004: 12*). Furthermore, already in the 1932 Adoratskii (1932b: 546) edition, by using almost the same wording, the editors had declared that their edition was prepared solely on the "basis of remarks by Marx and Engels". However, while the editors of the Adoratskii edition at least mentioned several times that the manuscripts on Feuerbach were "unfinished" and therefore underwent "editing," the editors of the 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition pretended that Marx and Engels had left some kind of instruction manual behind which provided clear and indisputable answers to the question as to how the manuscripts should be ordered (Adoratskij, 1932a: X; 1932b: 561–5).

No word can be found in the 1958 edition concerning the imaginative work that was carried out by the editorial team under Ryazanov and Adoratskii in order to provide readers with a smooth text. No word can be found concerning the fact that the Adoratskii edition had been based for the most part on "logical" reasoning when it came to the ordering of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts by Marx and Engels. After all, the 1932 Adoratskii edition (just as much as the 1932 Landshut and Mayer edition) represents but one of an almost indefinite number of possible ways to publish what became known as *The German Ideology*.

However, the important 1932 "*Richtlinien für die Redigierung der Manuskripte*" (Guidelines for the editing of the manuscripts) were not included in the 1958 republication of the 1932 edition. Moreover, the following "historical-critical" features of the Adoratskii edition were also omitted by the editors of the *Marx-Engels-Werke*:

Paginierungsschema der Manuskripte der "Deutschen Ideologie" (Schema of pagination of the manuscripts of the "German Ideology").

Beschreibung der Manuskripte. Textvarianten (Description of the manuscripts. Textvariants).

Any pagination by Marx (/ . . . /), Engels ({ . . . }) or the editors ([. . .]).

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These omissions disguised the fact that the so-called chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" was nothing more than a literary collage or digest, in which text fragments had been mixed up to construct something new. Whereas the *apparatus criticus* of the 1932 Adoratskii (1932b: 561, 565) edition at least allowed readers to "visualize" the "order of the individual parts of the original manuscript," the 1958 edition represents the most extreme way hitherto of fixing the texts in accordance with what was said to be the "style of the authors."

Although it must have been clear to the editors of the second Russian edition (and also to the editors of the first German edition) of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* that Ryazanov and Adoratskii had tampered extensively with the order of the so-called manuscripts on Feuerbach, rearranging even the 72 manuscript pages paginated by Marx himself, they still claimed that the ordering "within the volumes" of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* adheres to the "principle of chronology." In the 1955 Russian "Foreword" to the entire edition, the Soviet editors particularly complained about Kautsky, because he had allegedly "tampered" with Marx's manuscripts on surplus-value when he had published (what he called) volume IV of *Das Kapital* (*Capital*) between 1905 and 1910 (known in English as *Theories of Surplus Value*, in 3 vols) (see IMLSED, 1965a: XIV–VII).

The main offense that Kautsky had allegedly committed when he published the *Theorien über den Mehrwert* (*Theories of Surplus-Value*), according to the Soviet editors, was that he had "garbled the text of Marx's manuscript in a number of instances and deviated from the order of the manuscript." In a supposed contrast to Kautsky's interference in the chronological order of the writings by Marx, the Soviet editors assured their readers that the newly published *Marx-Engels-Werke* now featured all writings by Marx and Engels "in correspondence with the chronology of their origin" (IMLSU, 1956: XXI).

What was actually known in 1958 about the "chronology of origin" of the many heterogeneous manuscripts which had been published under the single title *The German Ideology*? This question is not answered in any "*Vorwort*" that dealt exclusively with the editors' interpretation of the 1845–46 manuscripts, but there is an answer in one of the over 200 remarks made by the editors and published at the very end of the volume. Here the editors claimed that as early as the "spring of 1845" Marx and Engels had agreed on writing *The German Ideology* (IMLSED, 1958a: 547). Although the editors did not provide a source for this very important piece of information, the presumed source is Marx's 1859 "*Vorwort*" to *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*. In his "*Vorwort*," Marx (1996b: 161) said that in the "spring of 1845" he and Engels had made up their minds to "develop" their "viewpoint together in opposition to the ideological one of German philosophy, in fact to settle up with" their "former philosophical conscience."

It is important to note at this point that it is highly questionable whether Marx's statement justifies the conclusion that in the spring of 1845 he and Engels had already "agreed on" writing a work entitled *The German Ideology*. It is more likely, however, that Marx and Engels simply wanted to "develop" their "viewpoint" by writing a series of articles (IMES, 2004: 6*). Only in retrospect could Marx (1996b)

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proceed to say that the "intention was carried out" by writing a "manuscript" the size of "two stout octavo volumes." The result of Marx and Engels's "*Selbstverständigung*" (self-clarification), known to us as *The German Ideology*, had most likely not been anticipated by the authors as early as the "spring of 1845" (161).

Furthermore, the editors of the 1958 edition of *The German Ideology* maintained that Marx and Engels had started with their work (supposedly already entitled *The German Ideology*) in September 1845. Also in this case the editors failed to provide their readers with any evidence that would underpin their claim. Instead of bringing some clarity into this whole matter, it all became even more obscure when the editors wrote about three previous publications of parts of the 1845–46 manuscripts during the lifetimes of Marx and Engels (one of these publications was in fact authored by Heß!). After naming these publications in reverse order, starting in 1847 and ending in 1845, the editors must clearly have known that Marx and Engels had begun to "develop" their "viewpoint" by publishing a "note" ("*Notiz*") in Heß's *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (issue no. VII of January 1846) (see chapter 2). The editors, therefore, were very well aware of the fact that when Marx and Engels had allegedly just started out to write their book entitled *The German Ideology* that they then prepared a critical article on Bauer instead.

Was it not obvious to the editors of the 1958 edition of *The German Ideology* that this critical article on Bauer was not simply a by-product of Marx and Engels's work on a book, but the only thing that they were working on in the late autumn and early winter of 1845? Did it not occur to the editors that this anonymously published article, which was simply called "note" at the time, formed the mere nucleus of what was later on to become a whole "work"? They should particularly have known this, because some of its content is identical with a few passages from "*II. Sankt Bruno*" of what has become known as *The German Ideology*. The misinterpretation of Marx's 1859 "*Vorwort*," together with the fact that in the end a whole "work" somehow came into existence, led two entire generations of editors (the MEGA1 and the *Marx-Engels-Werke* generation) to make the false assertion that Marx and Engels were all along planning to write a two-volume book entitled *The German Ideology*.

However, another fact should also have made the editors suspicious of their own hypothesis, namely that Marx and Engels first "agreed on" writing *The German Ideology* in the "spring of 1845" and then simply sat down to do so. According to the section "*Anmerkungen*" (Remarks) of the 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition, both the main title of the "work" as well as the two headings of the first and the second volume, had "not survived within the manuscript" (IMLSED, 1958a: 548). What made the editors believe that these things could have been somewhere "within the manuscript" initially, but eventually did "not survive"?

Even in the late 1950s it was well known that we only possess evidence from one single near-contemporary article that Marx (and maybe he alone!) actually wanted to name the 1845–46 manuscripts "*Die deutsche Ideologie*." This written statement by Marx himself was committed to paper almost a whole year after the longest section ("*Das Leipziger Konzil*") of the first volume of what is known to us as *The German Ideology* had been completed and sent out to Westphalia for printing. This

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short statement can be found in Marx's famous "note" attacking Grün, which was published both on April 8, 1847, in the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (*German-Brussels Newspaper*) and also on April 9, 1847, in the *Trier'sche Zeitung* (*Trier Newspaper*) (see Taubert, Pelger, and Grandjonc, 1998a: 154–8).

In this newspaper article, Marx mentioned a review that he had finished writing "a year ago" and which dealt with Grün's book *Soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien* (*The Social Movement in France and Belgium*). According to his own account, Marx felt "little urge" to publish this review at the time, and therefore decided that it could be permitted "peacefully to sleep the sleep of the just." However, in 1847, after some public interest in Grün's book had developed in Germany, Marx (1972: 439–63, 505–25) then thought it necessary to publish the review after all, and this was done in *Das Westphälische Dampfboot* of August and September 1847. Concerning the 1845–46 manuscripts Marx wrote in his "*Erklärung gegen Karl Grün*" (Declaration against Karl Grün): "The review forms an appendix to the work written jointly by Fr. Engels and me on 'the German ideology' (critique of modern German philosophy as expounded by its representatives Feuerbach, B[runo] Bauer and Stirner, and of German socialism as expounded by its various prophets)" (Marx, 1959b: 38)

By looking at this long period of time, between the months during which the bulk of the manuscripts were written down (December 1845–April 1846) and the first and only time a possible title for the work was mentioned by Marx (April 1847), it is definitely far-fetched to claim that the title(s) had "not survived within the manuscript" (IMLSED, 1958a: 548). The first recorded association between Marx's descriptive phrases of 1847 and the pile of manuscripts now collected under that title and subtitle occurs in Mehring's (1902) catalogue list of the Marx-Engels *Nachlaß* (Legacy) published in Stuttgart.

In conclusion one must say that the short and highly confusing "historical" narrative about the origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts, as provided in the 1958 edition of *The German Ideology*, left considerable space for speculation. The editors of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition had obviously tried very hard not only to smooth the text in order to construct a coherent "work" by Marx and Engels, but also to present a history of its origin, which was supposed to sound as logical and compelling as possible. However, in the end they presented a historical sequence in which Marx and Engels

> consciously "agreed upon" writing *The German Ideology* over half a year before they actually made the first stroke of the pen;
>
> started out by merely preparing and publishing a critical article on Bauer;
>
> sent a manuscript to the publishers in Germany while still working on the most crucial "first chapter";
>
> abandoned the manuscripts completely; and
>
> only referred a whole year later to it as "the German ideology."

This should certainly have raised many questions among the broad readership, and indeed it did (Semler, 2004).

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Nevertheless, leaving aside these weaknesses of the 1958 edition, one has to admit that the overall approach of the East German editors was in two cases more scientific than that of the Soviet editors. Although both editions (the Russian and the German) of volume 3 of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* included the famous "Theses on Feuerbach," often published together with what has become known as *The German Ideology* due to the historical misunderstandings outlined earlier, the East German editors correctly decided to render the original version as written down by Marx in the spring of 1845 (see Churbanov, 1976b: 586).

In contrast to this, the Russian edition again completely abandoned any historical accuracy by publishing Engels's 1888 revised version of the "Theses on Feuerbach" in a position directly preceding the 1845–46 manuscripts. These revised Feuerbach theses were perhaps more suitable for the propaganda of "historical materialism" as a "new world outlook," as Engels had written prior to their first publication in 1888, but Engels not only omitted the original title ("*1. ad Feuerbach*"), but also—and more importantly—added several words and also changed some of Marx's quotation marks, brackets, and emphasis. Even though Engels rightly stated that the original "Theses on Feuerbach" were "not meant for printing" just as they were found in Marx's 1844–47 notebook, this does of course not mean that they should not ever be printed at all in their original wording (Engels, 1962a: 264).

Furthermore, another decisive step toward a more chronological edition of what they called *The German Ideology* was taken by the East German editors when they decided not to publish Engels's manuscript "*Die wahren Sozialisten*" (The true socialists), written between January and April 1847, as part of volume 3 of the *Marx-Engels-Werke*. In a letter to Marx, dated January 15, 1847, Engels mentioned the manuscripts, known to us now as the second volume of *The German Ideology* and which dealt with the "German" or "true socialists." Engels referred to new developments within the movement of the "true socialists," represented at the time by men like Karl Grün and Hermann Püttmann (1811–94), and he expressed not only his wish to add some new ideas to the manuscripts, but also regretted that the exposition on "true socialism" could not be rewritten altogether (Engels, 1965a: 75). As a result of the new situation Engels prepared the article "*Die wahren Sozialisten*," which was, as far as we know, neither finished nor published in the end by him (see Engels, 1959a: 248–90).

While again the Soviet editors of the Russian Marx-Engels-Works rendered this 1847 manuscript in the same volume as the rest of the manuscripts known to us as *The German Ideology*, because they thought it would fit in some logical sense, the East German editors clearly opposed this unscientific method and stuck to the historical order of the writings. After all, how is one supposed to grasp fully the work process of Marx and Engels if writings like the May 1846 "*Zirkular gegen Kriege*" (Circular against Kriege) or the winter 1846/47 writing "*Deutscher Sozialismus in Versen und Prosa*" (German socialism in verse and prose) are printed after Engels's "Die wahren Sozialisten," which was written at a much later stage? Here the East German editors justified their correct approach by saying that "Engels's work '*Die wahren Sozialisten*' was inserted into the fourth volume because it fits organically

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with the other writings published in this volume" (see Engels, 1959b: 207–47; IMLSED, 1958b: XII).

Also in this case the Soviet editors, just as much as their predecessors Ryazanov and Adoratskii, tried to finish the work that Marx and Engels obviously had not finished. However, from the mid-1950s onward one can witness cautious but still very limited attempts by the GDR editors to proceed in a more scientific direction. The further development of these attempts, shifting from mere editorial details to politically charged differences in the interpretation of the 1845–46 manuscripts, will be discussed in our next chapter.

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Chapter Five

The Turbulent 1960s: The Publication of Long-Lost Pages of the 1845–46 Manuscripts

Missing Manuscript Pages and the Findings of Siegfried Bahne in 1962

Although in 1859 Marx had merely written that he and Engels had left the manuscripts to the "gnawing criticism of the mice," it was later on argued by Bernstein and Mehring that the hungry mice had not only taken a morsel here and there, but in some cases had left nothing but "little pieces" and "fragments" behind (Marx, 1961: 10; Rjazanov, 1925: 389; Mehring, 1976: 120). In turn, the editors of the 1932 MEGA1 and the 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition were a little more cautious in their accusations against these little creatures at the lower end of the food chain, but had still not come up with any other plausible explanation as to why one can observe "gaps" in the manuscripts (Marx and Engels, 1958: 10). According to Marx's pagination of the "main manuscript" (8–72) of the so-called Feuerbach chapter, there were at least 12 manuscript pages missing. These were still missing by the beginning of the 1960s. The lost pages were presumably numbered 1–7, 29, and 36–39.

The missing pages 1–7 obviously did not cause much of a headache for the early editors of the 1845–46 manuscripts. They simply inserted various spare text fragments, which they thought would fit in a logical sense with the contents of the pages numbered by Marx. Ryazanov, for example, constructed the opening to a "chapter" by fitting together three different types of manuscripts, which were, as will be shown later, written at a much later stage than the pages numbered 8–72 (see chapter 8). Besides rendering the two famous openings "*I. Feuerbach*" (including "*1. Die Ideologie überhaupt, speziell die deutsche Philosophie*") and "*A. Die Ideologie überhaupt, namentlich die deutsche*," Ryazanov (1971: 238) also inserted another text fragment that had allegedly been paginated by Engels as "5." In conclusion, he claimed that "printer's sheet 5" should be published just before page 8 (the first page that remained of the pages numbered by Marx), so that the ordering of the different manuscripts would therefore be reestablished.

Even though the 1953 Landshut edition of the so-called chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" had ordered the manuscripts more or less in the same way as the 1926 Ryazanov

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edition, Landshut must have felt uncomfortable with Ryazanov's scanty construction and so added some more text. Without providing any explanation for his readers, Landshut inserted another fragment numbered "3)." He claimed that it was also Engels who had paginated this "printer's sheet." According to Landshut (see 2004b: 411–18), the fragment should therefore be published between the two "chapter openings" and "printer's sheet 5."

However, the latest research has shown that both Ryazanov and Landshut took first impressions for granted and simply filled a gap of seven manuscript pages with some loose fragments that apparently they could not append anywhere else. Today, we know that there is no evidence whatsoever for the assumption that these text fragments ("3)" and "5.") had ever been part of the seven missing pages at the beginning of the "main manuscript." What was identified as "printer's sheet 5" could very well have been just a page numbered "5." It was nothing but pure speculation to assign this short text fragment to the pages numbered 8–72 by Marx.

Furthermore, it is not known for sure whether the number "3)" on the second fragment had actually been written by Engels. Marx or Bernstein could very well have done it. However, one thing is certain: research has shown that the number was not penciled into the manuscript while Marx and Engels were still working on what has become known as *The German Ideology*. The ink had not changed color in the same way as the one Marx and Engels had used in 1845–46. If it were Engels after all, who had inserted the number "3)" later on, then he must have done so after Marx's death in 1883. Between July 20, 1846, and March 14, 1883, Engels did not, so far as we know, have any access to the manuscripts (IMES, 2004: 301).

In sharp contrast to Ryazanov and Landshut, who had quite innocently inserted some spare manuscript pages in order to fill an existing gap, the editors of the 1932 Adoratskii edition did not worry at all about missing pages. They just ripped all the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts apart and put them back together again in such an unscrupulous way that neither loose pages nor gaps were left to raise any questions. As already mentioned in chapter 3, manuscript pages that Marx had, for example, paginated 8, 9, and 10 could now be found between pages 28 and 20. Hence the sequence of pages was: 28, 8, 9, 10, 20…

Because the last sentence on page 28 did not end properly, and the first sentence on page 8 had no beginning, the editors simply joined those two pages together. However, since this invented sequence of manuscript pages (28, 8, 9…) still did not make any sense, the editors of the 1932 Adoratskii edition became very creative and generously provided some made-up text (in brackets and italics) in a footnote. Here is what they came up with as a transition:

> Thus if millions of proletarians feel by no means contented with their living conditions, if their "existence" [contradicts their "being," then it is indeed an abnormality, but not an unhappy chance. It is a historical fact, which rests on very specific societal circumstances. Feuerbach is content with noting this fact, he only interprets the sensually existing world, relates to it only as a theorist, while] in reality and for the practical materialist, i.e., the communist, it is a question of revolutionising the existing world, of practically attacking and changing existing things. (Adoratskij, 1932b: 32)

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The editors of the 1932 Adoratskii edition of *The German Ideology* were probably very proud of the ingenuity through which they killed two birds with one stone. They had not only solved the problem of the seven missing pages at the beginning of the "main manuscript," but furthermore they had elided the gap left by the one manuscript page that was also missing between pages 28 and 30. This lost manuscript page had presumably been paginated by Marx as 29.

However, in 1962, something unexpected and exciting happened. Under the inconspicuous title "'*Die deutsche Ideologie' von Marx und Engels. Einige Textergänzungen*" ("The German Ideology" by Marx and Engels. A few text supplementations), three missing manuscript pages were published by Siegfried Bahne (1928–). Both the manuscript pages and Bahne's accompanying article were published in volume VII of the *International Review of Social History*, a journal edited by the *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, Amsterdam. In his article, Bahne cited several different reasons why there were so many "gaps in the text." Apart from the already mentioned "gnawing criticism of the mice," which had formerly served as the all-justifying explanation, he also explicitly adduced the "unfinished character" of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts and—most importantly—the fact that "several printer's sheets" could simply "not be found." Bahne then stated laconically that "the other day" three manuscript pages had been discovered in the IISG where almost all of the known manuscripts of what has become known as *The German Ideology* were kept.

The important pages were discovered in an envelope that had belonged to Bernstein. This in itself is not very surprising, because Bernstein had administered the manuscripts and unpublished works of the late Engels, who in turn had inherited the manuscripts of what has become known as *The German Ideology* from Marx (see chapter 2). What is unusual though, and what probably delayed discovery of the three manuscript pages for about half a century, was the fact that the mysterious envelope was labeled "*Drucksachen für das Mitglied des Reichstages Herrn Bernstein*" (Printing matters for the member of the Reichstag [German parliament] Mr. Bernstein). Furthermore, a short note by Bernstein was found on the envelope, saying that "*der Heilige Max*" (the holy Max) had been printed with omissions in the *Documente des Socialismus*, volumes III and IV (Bahne, 1962: 93–4).

The first page, which Bahne discovered in Bernstein's envelope, was paginated 28 by Engels. Since there is already a page 28 in the so-called Feuerbach chapter, this page had to belong somewhere else. According to Bahne, it is possible to insert this small piece of the puzzle into a subchapter of "*III. Sankt Max*" entitled "*Der politische Liberalismus*" (Political liberalism). Here the critique of Stirner abruptly breaks off, and while the 1932 MEGA1 edition of *The German Ideology* honestly rendered the information that a "continuation" of the text is missing, the 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition once again blamed the mice, who allegedly "had eaten away" parts of the manuscript (Adoratskij, 1932b: 180; Marx and Engels, 1958: 181). However, even if one inserts page 28 into the aforementioned subchapter of "*III. Sankt Max*," there would be still some text missing. There is no transition

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between the last sentence of the newly discovered fragment and the text following its insertion (Bahne, 1962: 95).

The second and third pages of Bahne's 1962 discovery were of much greater importance. Not only did they carry two short paragraphs in Engels's hand, which had been corrected by Marx and then used for composing "*II. Sankt Bruno*," but there were also fragments from pages 1, 2, and 29 of the so-called main manuscript (see IMES, 2004: 168). Pages number 1 and 2, which had been paginated with "1)" and "2)," were found on only one of the three manuscript pages that Bahne had discovered, simply because Marx had paginated both front and back.

However, Bahne was not fully aware of the consequences of his discovery. While he wrote clearly about "page number 29," which could be used for filling the gap between pages 28 and 30, he did not recognize pages 1 and 2 of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts. To him, Marx had only "marked the pages" with the "numbers 1 and 2." This inattentiveness led to the serious misinterpretation that the short paragraphs—which obviously belong to the manuscript pages 1 and 2 of the "main manuscript"—were simply parts of page 29. As a result, the 1964 Landshut edition rendered pages that Marx had paginated 1, 2, and 29 in between pages 28 and 30 (Taubert, 1968: 40). A footnote in the latest 2004 Landshut edition briefly explains that a "previous gap in the manuscript" had been "closed" by the manuscript pages 29, 1, and 2 (Landshut, 2004b: 444). Thus any unaware reader could only assume that the numbers 1 and 2 indicate subdivisions of page 29. It probably never bothered anyone that these alleged subdivisions did not make any sense at all.

Finally, in his article Bahne seemed very much occupied with pointing out how "particularly interesting" he had found Marx's doodling on one of the pages. However, the importance of the pages Bahne had discovered certainly did not lie in the many funny faces that Marx had drawn on one of them. By keeping in mind the close correlation between text interpretations and editions, it is now necessary to investigate further the relationship between the theoretical content of the newly discovered text fragments and their influence on the political history of these editions. Bahne (1962: 93–5) himself did not say a single word about how the three manuscript pages, which he had discovered in 1962, might or might not lead to an alteration in the way *The German Ideology* would be interpreted or published in future. Still, here we find yet another turning point in the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*.

After 1962 one thing was certainly clear to anyone interested in what has become known as *The German Ideology*: something had to change. From now on the history of these editions had to take a different course (see Chung, 1998: 33). Whatever had been done by the 1932 MEGA1 editors to produce a coherent chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" could not be accepted after 1962. Bahne's discovery made the shortcomings of the 1932 edition visible once and for all to a broad readership. Future editions could not be based anymore on the assumption that the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts could be taken apart and reordered to finish the work in the "style of the authors" (Adoratskij, 1932b: 561). The newly found page 29 was a strong reminder to editors and readers alike that page 28 was followed by page 29 for a good reason.

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Everyone was now able to witness how the last sentence of page 28 really read and how the ideas of Marx and Engels had developed from there. By randomly fitting pages together, such as page 28 and page 8, the editors of MEGA1 had completely prevented their readers from studying the work process of Marx and Engels. However, it should not be forgotten that the editors of the Russian and German *Marx-Engels-Werke* (1955 and 1958) must have had a presentiment when they edited the last sentence of page 28. Even though the *Marx-Engels-Werke* also rendered page 8 directly after page 28, the editors did not claim at all that a few made-up sentences could simply bridge the gap. Here, they did not copy the MEGA1 footnote but correctly declared that the gap in the manuscript interrupts the development of the authors' thoughts. And by pointing to Engels's little-known theses on Feuerbach of 1846 (published as "*Feuerbach*" in both MEGA1 and *Marx-Engels-Werke*), the editors claimed that "here the thought was brought to an end, which was . . . interrupted by the gap in the manuscript" (Engels, 1932: 538–40; Marx and Engels, 1958: 42; Engels, 1958: 541–3).

After all, by comparing the 1962 text supplementation with thesis e) by Engels, one can easily see that the editors of the *Marx-Engels-Werke* were much more familiar with the theoretical content of what is known to us as *The German Ideology*. Both passages deal explicitly with the same topic. And since it is not of importance at this point whether Marx or Engels (or even both of them) can be identified as the author(s) of the theses, a question that will be discussed later on in chapter 8, we will for the moment render the content of thesis e) as if it were by Engels alone. This indeed corresponds with knowledge current in the 1960s about the authorship. Also one should not confuse Engels's theses on Feuerbach, written probably between January and March 1846, with Marx's famous "Theses on Feuerbach" penned almost a whole year earlier, probably in the spring of 1845 (IMES, 2004: 292).

Thesis e) of Engels's theses on Feuerbach deals with §27 of Feuerbach's 1843 *Grundsätze der Philososphie der Zukunft* (*Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*). Here, Feuerbach claimed, very much in the style of his "perceptual materialism," that the "essence" of a being generally coincides with its "existence" (Marx, 1994a: 118). Feuerbach provided an example for his hypothesis when he talked about "the fish in the water," the "essence" of which cannot be separated from its "existence." This Feuerbachian harmony between the natural surroundings of a being and its own nature is allegedly true for all living beings (Feuerbach, 1966: 185–6).

Feuerbach identified only one exception to this rule when he conceded that in "exceptional," "abnormal," and "unhappy" cases, "human life" could find itself in contradiction with its "existence". However, to Feuerbach, those "exceptional," "abnormal," and "unhappy" cases do not play any significant role in human history (Engels, 1968: 675). This of course provoked the young and revolutionary-minded Engels to retort that Feuerbach had delivered "a fine panegyric upon the existing state of things". Engels (1958: 543) also questioned in a very sarcastic tone whether one could actually speak of any coincidence between a human being's "essence" and its "existence" if, for example, in capitalism a seven-year-old boy is "glad to become

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door-keeper in a coal-mine and [has] to remain alone in the dark for fourteen hours a day."

Engels's criticism of this particular paragraph of Feuerbach's *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft* was later on repeated by Marx and Engels in the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts of *The German Ideology* and can, as the editors of *Marx-Engels-Werke* correctly assumed, therefore be found on the rediscovered page 29. Here, Marx and Engels returned to Feuerbach's "'essence' of the fish" by arguing that the "'essence' of the freshwater fish is the water of a river." However, according to Marx and Engels, a contradiction between "essence" and "existence" arises "as soon as the river is made to serve industry, as soon as it is polluted by dyes and other waste products and navigated by steamboats." The same contradiction could be exemplified by referring to the "millions of proletarians" working in capitalist society. In sharp contrast to Feuerbach, who allegedly thought that the living conditions of the working class should be interpreted as an "unavoidable misfortune, which must be borne quietly," Marx and Engels (1968f: 55) declared that "millions of proletarians or communists" will actively "bring their 'existence' into harmony with their 'essence' in a practical way, by means of revolution."

Those powerful words, which clearly demonstrate how far Marx and Engels had advanced beyond Feuerbach's "perceptual materialism," could no longer be withheld from readers of what had been published under the title *The German Ideology*. Here the authors clearly stressed the active and practical side of human behavior and castigated Feuerbach for his conservative and old-fashioned ideas about human beings and nature. These expositions were so important for the understanding of the whole of Marx and Engels's new "conception of history" that from 1962 onward no edition of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts could stay unaltered. Marx and Engels's thoughts had to be presented in a much more scientific and scholarly manner than had been done by Ryazanov, Adoratskii, Landshut, and the editors of *Marx-Engels-Werke*.

However, the inevitable appreciation that the year 1962 marked the beginning of a new era in the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* needed a few years yet to ripen fully. At the outset Soviet editors tried to avoid the unpleasant task of acknowledging earlier mistakes and to work instead on a comprehensive revision of the way that the manuscripts had been ordered by the editorial team under Ryazanov and Adoratskii. As an egregious example of how Soviet editors had tried to get around correcting the "faults of the earlier editions as regards the arrangement and division of the text," one must mention the 1965 English-language edition of *The German Ideology*, published by Lawrence & Wishart in London (IMLSU, 1978: 15).

By 1965, English-language editions containing at least parts of the 1845–46 manuscripts already had a long tradition. It all began with the very first translation (from the Russian translation of the original German) of the so-called chapter "I. Feuerbach," which was published in the US periodical *The Marxist* (no. 3) in July 1926 (Marx and Engels, 1926b: 243–304). Then, after the first German-language editions of this material were published by Ryazanov and Adoratskii in 1926 and 1932, English-speaking editors prepared new editions by translating from

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the original language. Smaller sections of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts were published in the British periodical *The Labour Monthly* (vol. 15, no. 3) in March 1933 (Marx and Engels, 1933b: 182–8; Bottomore and Rubel, 1967: 8).

Shortly after that, in 1936, Sidney Hook's book *From Hegel to Marx: Studies in the Intellectual Development of Karl Marx* featured three longer "philosophical fragments" extracted from "*III. Sankt Max*" (Marx and Engels, 1936a: 308–12; 1936b: 315–22). Even though Hook (1902–89) predicted in 1936 that "it does not seem likely that these books [*The Holy Family* and *The German Ideology*] will be translated into English for many years to come," it was thanks to Lawrence & Wishart that in 1938 both the so-called chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" and the entire "second volume" (*True Socialism*) were presented to English-speaking readers in a single volume (see Hook, 1936: 13; Marx and Engels, 1938).

Finally, in 1964, the first English-language translation of the whole of what has become known as *The German Ideology* was edited and printed by Progress Publishers, Moscow, and distributed in the English-speaking world by Lawrence & Wishart, London, from 1965 (Churbanov, 1976b: 588). In the short "Publisher's note" the Soviet editors boasted of the fact that "this edition is indeed more complete than any of the existing editions of this work in any language, for several hitherto unknown pages of the [Feuerbach] manuscript have…been discovered" (Progress Publishers, 1968: 5). However, the edition they compiled was not only unsatisfying, but completely useless. The Soviet editors took the text arrangement of "*I. Feuerbach*" from the 1955 Russian Marx-Engels-Works edition (which is more or less equivalent to the 1958 German *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition) and then simply inserted pages number 29, 1, and 2 in between pages number 28 and 8 (Marx and Engels, 1968f: 55–7).

The editors probably thought they could rest assured that nobody would question their unscrupulous and amateurish methods, because they also omitted, just as the Marx-Engels-Works had done a decade before, the continuous pagination of the "main manuscript" by Marx. Neither in the "Publisher's note" nor in the "Appendices" did the editors mention the fact that the 1965 English-language edition was based on Ryazanov and Adoratskii's 1932 literary collage formed from what Marx and Engels had left behind. Readers were deliberately tricked into the false assumption that they had bought a "book" that had been created—both in its content and its composition—by Marx and Engels (Ryazanskaya, 1968: 681).

Although this particular 1965 Lawrence & Wishart edition, which can only be characterized as a dead end in the genealogy of the political history of editions, was republished as late as 1968, the times had long changed (for a comprehensive genealogy of editions, see appendix B). From then on, most English-language editions of "*I. Feuerbach*," as, for example, the one published by Progress Publishers, Moscow, in 1972, would correctly state that previous editions had made an attempt "to turn this uncompleted manuscript into a finished work," but that "further study of the manuscript showed, however, that there were insufficient grounds for such a rearrangement" (IMLSU, 1978: 15). Nevertheless, what exactly had happened after Bahne's discovery in 1962? Who made use of the newly found manuscript pages?

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The Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie Edition of 1966

Again it was the Soviet editors who published a new edition of the so-called Feuerbach chapter at the end of 1965 and also in 1966. Both publications of the same edition were in Russian. The first one was printed in the journal Вопроси философий (Questions of philosophy), issues no. 10 and 11 of 1965 (see Marx and Engels, 1965). The second one was published in the form of a book under the title К. Маркс и Ф. Энгельс: Фейербах: Противоположность материалистического и идеалистического воззрений, which translates as "Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Feuerbach: opposition of the materialist and idealist outlooks" (see Marx and Engels, 1966). Both publications were prepared by Georgii Bagaturiya and edited by Vladimir Bruschlinski (IMLSED, 1966: 1198). However, as much as Ryazanov's 1924 Russian edition of "*I. Feuerbach*" was preparatory work for the publication of the same manuscripts in their original language (1926), the 1965 Bagaturiya edition was soon followed by a German-language edition.

In 1966, the East German theoretical journal *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* (German journal of philosophy), issue no. 10, presented the fifth German-language version of "*I. Feuerbach*" (after Ryazanov, Adoratskii, Landshut, and *Marx-Engels-Werke*) to its readers. Even a very superficial comparison between the 1926 Ryazanov edition and the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition reveals something that was neither mentioned in the latter edition nor known to many people at the time: the Soviet and GDR editors had finally returned to their roots and so proceeded from the point at which Ryazanov had stopped around 40 years earlier (IMSLED, 1966: 1197). The 1966 German-language edition was merely an updated version of the 1926 Ryazanov edition. Ryazanov was thereby partially rehabilitated, leaving aside the fact that he most certainly had had considerable influence on the 1932 Adoratskii edition of *The German Ideology* as a single-volume "book" (see chapter 3).

The 1966 edition of "*I. Feuerbach*" clearly threw a bad light on the 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition of *The German Ideology*, even more so, if one keeps in mind that the publication of the entire German *Marx-Engels-Werke* was not completed until 1968. The following novelties, which clearly postdated the 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition, were presented by the editors:

- The "main manuscript," paginated by Marx himself with the numbers 8–72, was finally restored and provided to readers including all page numbers.
- The newly discovered pages 1, 2, and 29 were for the first time inserted into the "main manuscript" in such a way that the fragments of pages 1 and 2 appeared at the beginning of the "main manuscript" and page 29 was placed correctly in between pages 28 and 30 (Marx and Engels, 1966: 1207–8, 1224).
- The missing pages 3–7 and 36–39 were explicitly mentioned, although the editors were mistaken when they stated in their introduction that pages '31 to 34' were missing (further information on the missing pages 36–39 will be provided in chapter 6) (IMLSED, 1966: 1198).

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Although Soviet and East German editors, mainly Georgii Bagaturiya and Inge Tilhein (the maiden name of Inge Taubert), had worked very closely together when publishing the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts by Marx and Engels in 1966, one can observe three significant differences between the Russian- and the German-language editions:

First, the German edition, which was published in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*, omitted two dozen subheadings that the Soviet editors had made up and through which they had subdivided the text. According to the Soviet editors, these subheadings would help the reader to "elucidate and trace the inner logic" of the manuscripts (IMLSU, 1978: 16; Marx and Engels, 1976: 27–93; 1966: 1199–251).

Second, Tilhein was able to compare the rearranged German-language text with the original handwriting, archived in the *Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis*, Amsterdam. By doing so, it became possible to decipher many letters and words that had previously not been legible, because the Soviet editors were still relying on Ryazanov's photographs of the manuscripts, which had been taken around 40 years earlier (Taubert in a telephone conversation of April 12, 2006).

Third, while the Soviet editors only designated "four parts" within the manuscripts (three "rough copies" and one "clean copy"), which could be merged together in order to form a "Chapter I," the East German editors explicitly named "five parts." This meant in particular that the East German editors neatly distinguished between two different "clean copies" (the so-called chapter openings), instead of counting only one (Brushlinsky, 1978: 116).

Although the East German editors still talked about a "Chapter I" of *The German Ideology*, they openly declared that one could observe "five parts" (meaning five different manuscripts), which had been "written at different times and in different circumstances" (IMLSED, 1966: 1198). This noteworthy finding marked the beginning of the end of the successively constructed versions of chapter "I. Feuerbach." In particular, the fact that the editors were able to identify "five parts" had a tremendous impact on all future editions. Eventually, in 1972, seven such "parts" would be identified (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 408–11; see chapter 6).

After all, the Soviet editors were not ready to question their obsession with a "logically" constructed chapter "*I. Feuerbach*," even after these "five parts" (with completely different historical origins) had been identified. The 1965/66 Bagaturiya edition of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts was later translated into English and then published both in volume 1 of the *Selected Works* (1969) and in volume 5 of the *Collected Works* (1976) of Marx and Engels (1969: 16–80). Here the Soviet editors, despite the immense progress recently made, still argued in the old-fashioned way that each "part" must be viewed as a "consistent, logically coherent whole." And, as if this were not enough, they furthermore claimed that all "parts complement one another and together they are a comprehensive exposition of the materialist conception of history" (IMLSU, 1978: 15; Churbanov, 1976b: 588).

As a result, the 1976 English-language *Collected Works* edition, which had incorporated the 1965/66 Bagaturiya edition, became just another dead end in the genealogy of the political history of these editions (Churbanov, 1976a: XXV–VI). Once

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again, the editors had wanted to finish the work that Marx and Engels had obviously not finished. Even though historical accuracy was partially restored by following Marx's pagination of the "main manuscript," the editors proclaimed that the "comparison of the different parts of the manuscript" would help the reader because it would "bring out the logical structure of the chapter." The editors desperately wanted to "form an idea of the authors' intentions and to reconstruct the general plan of the chapter." Very much like the editors of the 1932 MEGA1 edition, they were still under the illusion that some form of Feuerbach chapter needed to be "reconstructed in accordance with the intentions of Marx and Engels" (Churbanov, 1976b: 588–9).

The Soviet editors, who were responsible for the 1976 *Collected Works* edition, once again completely ignored the fact that no chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" had ever existed and that Marx and Engels had left only a collection of very incoherent manuscripts behind. In sharp contrast to their misconception of the historical context, the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition must be viewed as a decisive step in a much more scientific and scholarly direction. Thus, the preface to this 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition, which was signed by the East German Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus, declared with quite a self-confident undertone that the new publication was merely "based on" research conducted by Soviet scholars.

The East German editors wanted to convey the impression that the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition had not only been prepared with the utmost scientific accuracy, but was furthermore downright antipropagandistic. This was achieved, for example, by naming most of the hitherto published German-language editions of *The German Ideology* in that light (IMLSED, 1966: 1197–8). Also many other features of a historical-critical edition, as outlined in the Methodological Excursus to this volume, can already be observed in this 1966 German-language edition, in particular, the extensive introductory text aimed at placing the manuscripts in historical and biographical perspective. For the first time the East German editors left many of the old propaganda slogans aside and concentrated mostly on the reconstruction of historical events.

In opposition to the editors of the 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition, the new editors clearly distanced themselves from the false assertion that Marx and Engels had decided to write on what has become known to us as *The German Ideology* in the "spring of 1845." According to the 1966 East German editors, Marx did not only write his "Theses on Feuerbach" in the spring of 1845, but also proceeded to work on his planned two-volume book *Kritik der Politik und Nationalökonomie* (A critique of politics and political economy). For the latter, Marx had signed a contract with a German publisher on February 1, 1845 (IMLSED, 1965b: 618). Engels, in turn, had intended to prepare a publication of some sort on the "historical development of England and of English socialism" (Engels, 1965b: 15).

Extant notebooks (used for excerpting) provide evidence that the two authors had worked on their studies, dealing with the aforementioned topics, until August 1845. In particular, Marx's substantial excerpts reveal to us that he had

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read (with the help of Engels) several works by British economists while he was visiting England (London and Manchester) in July and August 1845 (see Marx and Engels, 1988). The editors of the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition concluded that the plan for writing what they called *The German Ideology* must have "probably taken shape during or after the visit to England" (IMLSED, 1966: 1193–4). However, this 1966 interpretation of the sequence of historical events still does not explain why Marx and Engels had not yet started work on what was later on entitled *The German Ideology* in "September 1845," as the editors of the 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition had previously claimed (IMLSED, 1958a: 547).

The East German editors, therefore, introduced what they called the "immediate cause," which must have sparked the authors' work on what has become known as *The German Ideology*. This "immediate cause" allegedly could only be found in the publication of the third volume of *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift* at the end of October or the beginning of November 1845. In this volume of *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*, which was published in Leipzig and which inspired Marx and Engels to write about *"Das Leipziger Konzil,"* one can find articles by both Bauer and Stirner (IMSLED, 1958a: 551). In his article "*Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs*" (Characterization of Ludwig Feuerbach), Bauer not only criticized the philosophy of Feuerbach, but—more importantly—attacked Engels and Marx as the authors of *The Holy Family* (1845) and identified their ideas with Feuerbach's (see Bauer, 1845: 86–146). In particular, Bauer disapproved of the term "*Gattungswesen*" and called the two authors of *The Holy Family "Feuerbachsche Dogmatiker"* (Feuerbachian dogmatists) (Andréas and Mönke, 1968a: 22). This accusation, according to the editors of the 1966 edition, became the "starting point" for the expositions rendered in the "I. volume" of *The German Ideology* (see chapter 8).

As pointed out in the introduction to the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition, Marx and Engels "essentially" had finalized their work on *The German Ideology* by the middle of May 1846. Weydemeyer, a close friend of the two authors, had already taken most of the manuscripts of the "first volume" with him to Germany by the middle of April 1846 (IMLSED, 1966: 1195). And in a letter written on May 14, 1846, which was not discovered until the spring of 1966 and which was subsequently published in the East German journal *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Arbeiterbewegung* (Contributions to the history of the German Workers' Movement), Marx wrote to Weydemeyer that the "second volume is almost done" (Andréas and Mönke, 1968b: 49–52; Marx, 1968b: 61–5). The editors of the 1966 edition of *The German Ideology* correctly informed their readers that the chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" was definitely not finished at this time.

Only after the middle of May 1846, and after most manuscripts of what is known to us as *The German Ideology* had been sent out to the publishers in Westphalia, must Marx and Engels have found the time to take a closer look at the remaining manuscripts, which dealt at least in some paragraphs with Feuerbach. According to the 1966 editors, these remaining manuscripts consisted of three parts (out of the "five parts" of "chapter I"). The editors correctly deduced that these "three parts

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were produced in connection with the work on chapters II and III," meaning that these "three parts" must have been written sometime before Weydemeyer left for Germany in the middle of April 1846 (IMLSED, 1966: 1195). It is thus clear to anyone following the sequence of historical events as outlined in the introduction to the 1966 edition that even if Marx and Engels had planned to have a separate "chapter" on Feuerbach before the middle of May 1846, they could not have worked on it very much.

The editors of the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition correctly argued that Marx and Engels (IMSLED, 1966: 1195) must have "obviously" waited for another publication by Feuerbach, before proceeding with their work on "*I. Feuerbach*." This 1846 article by Feuerbach, which they were anticipating, was entitled *"Das Wesen der Religion"* (The essence of religion), which was to be published in the first volume of the journal *Die Epigonen* (The successors) (see Feuerbach, 1960: 433–506). Marx and Engels wanted to be really up-to-date in their criticism, and after Engels had departed from Brussels (August 15, 1846), he wrote to Marx in a letter from Paris that he would soon study Feuerbach's writing "in detail" (IMLSED, 1959: 674). Furthermore, he promised Marx that he would send the most interesting passages "at short notice," so that Marx could still make use of them "for the Feuerbach" (Engels, 1965c: 33). However, it took about two months until Engels returned to the subject in another letter to Marx (October 18, 1846). Here, Engels informed Marx that he had finally read "Feuerbach's muck" (*den Dreck von Feuerb[ach]*) and that Feuerbach's writing would not be useful for the criticism against him (Engels, 1965d: 55).

Having outlined these significant advances in a more scientific direction, I would also stress that the editors of the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition were unable to draw any profound conclusions from their studies. This had yet to be done, and the succeeding chapters of this volume will discuss the most important writings on this matter in detail. In this chapter, however, it is only possible to present the historical insights, as newly put forward in the introduction to the 1966 edition, and furthermore to name some of the crucial points that could lead to a completely different interpretation of what had happened in 1845–46. The most important of these points are:

- Even after the 1966 East German editors had identified what they called the "starting point" of Marx and Engels's work on the 1845–46 manuscripts (end of October or the beginning of November 1845), they did not dare to question whether it was still justifiable to argue that Marx and Engels had actually anticipated what became known as *The German Ideology* anytime in advance of that (as, for example, in "August 1845"). After all, it had already been noted in the 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition that a critical article on Bauer was the only writing Marx and Engels had produced in the late autumn and early winter of 1845/46 (IMLSED, 1958a: 548). This article can be found in the second volume (January 1846) of *Heß's Gesellschaftsspiegel* (see chapter 2; Marx, 1971: 6–8).

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- Marx and Engels must have been very busy finishing several hundred pages on Bauer and Stirner before the middle of April 1846. Whether "chapter I" was or was not planned at this point is of minor importance. The fact is that on the basis of the 1966 edition, Bert Andréas (1914–84) and Wolfgang Mönke (1968a: 26) argued in their book *Neue Daten zur "Deutschen Ideologie"* (*New Data on the "German Ideology"*) that the "title, initially intended for the complete work, could very well have been *'Das Leipziger Konzil*.' " Therefore, all that Marx and Engels must have cared about up to the middle of April 1846 was to finish their work on *"Das Leipziger Konzil"* (including the critiques of *"Sankt Bruno"* and *"Sankt Max"*). Feuerbach, however, was never part of *"Das Leipziger Konzil."* None of the editors of what is known to us as *The German Ideology* had as yet taken into account that the criticism of Feuerbach was only of minor importance for Marx and Engels in the winter and spring of 1845/46.
- Finally, it is also quite astounding that it did not occur to any of the previous editors, not even to the editors of the 1966 edition, that Marx and Engels most certainly had never thought of publishing these heterogeneous "three parts," which Marx had paginated at some point 1–72. It is thanks to Andréas and Mönke (1968a: 28), who for the first time plainly argued that the Feuerbach-manuscript "contains expressions, which the authors would not have chosen to be printed." In the so-called Feuerbach chapter, one can find several phrases such as *"die ganze alte Scheiße"* (all the old shit), *"diesem ganzen Dreck"* (all that muck), *"nationale Scheiße"* (national shit), and *"die Scheiße an & für sich"* (shit in & for itself) (Marx and Engels, 2004: 18, 22).

The German Ideology and the Second "Praxis Discussion" in the GDR

In the Methodological Excursus to this volume, we stress that the impact of ideologies on history must be taken into account. This means in particular that theoretical disputes among scholars must also be presented as part of the "totality" of the historical process. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize the correlation between politically charged debates and other aspects of the "production of life" (Marx and Engels, 2004: 28–9).

As an example of how such a correlation developed as part of the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*, we cite an article connected with the publication of the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition. Apart from the introduction to the edition, already discussed, which was printed right in front of the so-called chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" by Marx and Engels, there is then a keynote article by the East German scholar Helmut Seidel (1929–). Seidel's controversial contribution to the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* (issue no. 10 of 1966) was entitled *"Vom praktischen und theoretischen Verhältnis der Menschen zur Wirklichkeit"* (On the practical and theoretical relationship of the human being to reality).

This article by Seidel, which drew a direct line between the 1966 publication of "chapter I" of *The German Ideology* and "socialist construction" in the GDR, had just lately been named a "decisive key text" (*entscheidender Schlüsseltext*) for

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the understanding of Marxist philosophy in the GDR (Rauh, 2005: 120). Seidel's article marked the beginning of what is known as the second "Praxis Discussion" in East Germany. While the first "Praxis Discussion" (1961–63) had been dominated by scholars such as Georg Klaus (1912–74) and Dieter Wittich (1930–), who aimed at a further specification of the term "praxis" with regard to its epistemological aspects, the second "Praxis Discussion" (1966–67) was led mostly by Rugard Otto Gropp (1907–76), Guntolf Herzberg (1940–), Hinrich Römer, Jürgen Peters, Vera Wrona, and Helmut Seidel (Neuhaus and Vesper, 2001; Rauh, 2005: 122).

Seidel's article was much more than just a mere supplement to his hitherto unpublished 1965 *Habilitationschrift*, *"Philosophie und Wirklichkeit—Herausbildung und Begründung der marxistischen Philosophie"* (Philosophy and reality—the development and justification of Marxist philosophy). In his 1966 article, Seidel tried to illustrate how insights gained through a revised reception of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts could be utilized, for example, for a more successful "explanation and realisation of the policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany" (Seidel, 1966: 1178).

Seidel's (1967: 1470) highly provocative exposition met with "fierce criticism" from fellow academics in the GDR. Herzberg (1967: 980), who at least accepted the basic intentions of Seidel's article, suspected that it would "constrict the actual scope [*Reichtum*] of Marxist philosophy." Römer (1967: 989) tried to disqualify the "content and manner" of the article by saying that it did not "comply with the concerns and character of the previous discussion." Finally, Peters and Wrona (1967: 1106) claimed that "the author did not consider at all the consequences of his conception," and therefore it could only be condemned as "destructive." However, the main opponent of Seidel was undoubtedly Gropp, who also published his 1967 article *"Über eine unhaltbare Konzeption"* (On an untenable concept) in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie*.

Before we outline Seidel's new interpretation of what became known as *The German Ideology*, we need to mention that Seidel was accused of violating the following two basic components of Marxist philosophy:

- Seidel allegedly answered the "fundamental question of philosophy" in an idealist fashion, because he did not clearly profess his conviction that "matter" existed prior to and independent of human beings (see Buhr and Kosing, 1975: 128–30; Gropp, 1967: 1094, 1097).
- Seidel (1967: 1097–101) supposedly advocated a "subject–object philosophy," by overestimating the "subjective factor" in human history.

In an article in his own defense, entitled "*Praxis und marxistische Philosophie*" (Praxis and Marxist philosophy), Seidel replied to his opponents that he had never intended to answer the "fundamental question of philosophy" from an idealist point of view. In turn, he argued that no Marxist could ever deny the "priority" of nature. Here Seidel was definitely in line with what Marx and Engels (2004: 10) had already said in the 1845–46 manuscripts when they wrote about the "priority" of nature

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existing "outside" the human being and existing "prior" to human history. However, Seidel added that to him it would be of utmost importance that the answer to the "fundamental question" should be more than just a "creed" ("*Glaubensbekenntnis*") (Seidel, 1967: 1477–8). And concerning the second reproach, Seidel explained that "material" human praxis would be the "objective requirement" for any "human subjectivity," and not the other way around. Therefore, any subjectivity could only derive from the practical interaction between human beings and other forms of nature (1484–5).

In the following discussion, we present only a short overview of the main points at issue, in order not to overstep the clearly defined limits of this volume. The focus of attention will be placed particularly on those questions that are directly linked to the 1966 edition of *The German Ideology*. However, it is of great importance to show unambiguously how a qualitative step toward a new and more truthful interpretation of the 1845–46 manuscripts had been taken on the basis of a revised edition of the so-called first chapter of *The German Ideology*.

In his 1966 keynote article Seidel referred to Walter Ulbricht's speech *"Der Weg zum künftigen Vaterland der Deutschen"* (The way to the future fatherland of the Germans) by saying that a "great intellectual struggle" was also needed in order to make sure that the GDR could respond to the most "vital questions of the German nation" more successfully than the "imperialist" Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was doing (see Ulbricht, 1966). The preservation of peace should be the utmost goal in this struggle, disregarding the continuing nonrecognition of the GDR by the FRG and the repeated violation of East German borders. According to Seidel, never again should war become the recourse of German politics; a peaceful solution to the "German question" must be found. In order to do so, Seidel declared that East German academics would accept a proposal from the West German scholar Karl Jaspers (1883–1969), suggesting that "intellectual achievements" should decide whether Germany was to proceed in a socialist or a capitalist direction (see Jaspers, 1966).

In order to win this battle of ideas, Seidel advocated emphatically that the "intellectual weapons" of "Marxism-Leninism" should be sharpened. He stressed that previous victories should not create "complacency" among East German scholars and that "shortcomings" and "weaknesses" in their theoretical work must be named and overcome. Only by doing so would it be possible to counter "bourgeois criticism" of socialist development in the GDR in a "factual" and "convincing" way. East German academic life should be imbued with a "high political and moral sense of responsibility" for the historical situation. "From this point of view," Seidel argued, one could judge "the new publication of chapter I of volume I of 'The German Ideology' to be not only an outstanding event in Marx-Studies," but also a "direct aid for solving the theoretical questions" that lie ahead (Seidel, 1966: 1177–8).

Seidel was the first person in the political history of these editions to question what was generally understood as the "materialist conception of history" in an introductory text to an edition of *The German Ideology*. Exactly 40 years after Ryazanov (1926a: 216) wrote about a "historical-economic schema" that had allegedly been

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"constructed" by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology*, Seidel wanted to challenge explicitly any "schematic interpretation" of human history. And much as Reich had claimed in 1933 that "lively methods had been turned into formulas, scientific analyses of facts into rigid schemata," Seidel argued that "historical materialism" was threatened with descending "into a lifeless schema" (Reich, 1997: 30; Seidel, 1966: 1178). After all, Marx and Engels (1994: 126) had already underlined in what has become known as *The German Ideology* that their "conception of history" had not aimed to provide "any recipe or schema for neatly arranging the epochs of history."

Seidel's argumentation centered around one major topic: how to empower human beings in a socialist society so that they could become self-conscious creators of their own world. In order to do so, it is, according to Seidel, inevitable not only to change the relations of production from a capitalist to a socialist mode, but also to update Marxist philosophy. This renewal of "Marxism-Leninism" could only be achieved by putting more emphasis on the "practical-active behaviour" of human beings. Seidel made the strong criticism that former expositions of Marxist philosophy, especially the ones used for teaching in schools and universities, would focus too much on the "theoretical [contemplative] relationship of human beings towards reality." In these former expositions, too much attention had been placed on the mere explanation and description of existing reality. However, Seidel stressed that Marxist philosophy should not only be concerned with the explanation of why existing reality is in conformity with social laws of societal development, but—more importantly—it should serve as a "guide for action."

Seidel explicitly repudiated Stalin's hypothesis that had claimed that the principles of dialectical materialism could be "extended" somehow to human society and its history (see chapter 4). According to Seidel, this very idea and method would be completely "senseless," because dialectical materialism did not only deal with dialectical developments in nonhuman nature, but also depicted nature in a Feuerbachian way. To Seidel (1966: 1179), this meant in particular that textbook dialectical materialism did not take into account at all that nature is not simply a collection of objects, but that it is rather a result of manifold human and therefore subjective activities. Seidel then referred to Marx's 1845 "Theses on Feuerbach," where Marx wrote: "The chief defect of all previous materialism (that of Feuerbach included) is that things, reality, sensuousness are conceived only in the form of the object, or of contemplation, but not as sensuous human activity, practice, not subjectively" (Marx and Engels, 1978: 96). Seidel argued that this underestimation of "sensuous human activity" in the expositions of dialectical materialism, paired with the formulaic "extension" of dialectical materialism onto human society and its history, led to the result that the whole "subjective" side of human history has been underrepresented in historical materialism. In conclusion, he argued that historical materialism has been made to focus too much on objective nature-like laws that allegedly govern all human activities. Propaganda based on such an ideology, where the human being is not placed at the center of the social world, could, according to Seidel, only hinder the emancipation of the citizens of the GDR.

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Seidel also provided a topical example of how the aforementioned ideological shortcomings had been translated into the language of everyday life. He referred to the popular phrase "human beings in the technical revolution." Seidel argued that one should not give people the impression that the "technical revolution" was some kind of historical subject completely determining the lives of human beings. To him, this phrase was highly misleading. Seidel emphasized that such catchphrases, which put the conscious subjects of history into a passive and dependant position, have a negative influence on the effectiveness of "theoretical, propagandistic and educational work." According to Seidel (1966: 1179–80), it should rather be stressed that it is the "human being—and no other being—which makes this revolution" and that the "technical revolution" is nothing but the "expression of enormous human forces."

In conclusion, Seidel urged his fellow scholars to study *The German Ideology* thoroughly. In this "first work of ripe Marxism," Marx and Engels had supposedly paid great attention to the "practical-active behaviour" of individuals in history. According to Seidel, in *The German Ideology* the two authors had also chosen a completely different methodological "point of departure" for analyzing and presenting human history than "Marxism-Leninism" had done. Marx and Engels had allegedly started their historical analysis with the "description of the practical activity" of real human beings and not with any abstract laws that had been simply "extended" from nonhuman nature to society and its history.

Seidel underscored the importance of this methodological "point of departure" for understanding human history by saying that Marx and Engels were not at all satisfied with the "points of departure" as they had been propounded by all previous philosophers. While Baruch Spinoza (1632–77) had based his philosophical system on "substance" (nature and God), from which he had deduced the diversity of all existing things, it was Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) who had claimed that the "I" (self-consciousness) should serve as the "point of departure" for his conception of the world. Seidel argued that Fichte's understanding of human freedom was clearly a step forward compared with Spinoza's ideas about the "inactivity of the subject." However, according to Seidel, it was in particular the legacy of Spinoza that had found its way into Marxism through the work of Plekhanov (1940).

Seidel maintained that Marx and Engels had rejected both of these abstract "points of departure" in *The German Ideology*. Neither the abstract "spirit" (Fichte's "I," Hegel's "world-spirit," or Bauer's "self-consciousness") nor Spinoza's abstract "substance" (Feuerbach's ahistorical "nature") had convinced Marx and Engels. What was allegedly missing was the "real mediation [*Vermittlung*] between nature and human beings, between the laws of nature and human freedom." Seidel (1966: 1180–1) emphasized that Marx and Engels had rejected any abstract speculation about "nature" and "spirit." Seidel wrote:

> Both substance and self-consciousness were not the points of departure for Marx, but rather the sensual-concrete activity [*sinnlich-gegenständliche Tätigkeit*] of human beings, the work, societal praxis. The category praxis stands not only at the centre of

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> historical materialism, as usually interpreted, but because it is standing there, it is the central category of all of Marxist philosophy. (1182)

Following this assertion, Seidel elaborated over many pages how Marx and Engels had explained the relationship between human praxis and human history in the 1845–46 manuscripts. In conclusion, Seidel claimed that no one could deny the fact that "practical" and "theoretical" ("material" and "intellectual") activities do form a unified whole in the human work-process. The philosophical category "praxis," according to Seidel, expresses exactly this unity of the "practical" with the "theoretical," of "industry" with "science" (1182–3).

Only if Marxist philosophy interprets human history as a process in which human beings are not completely subject to nature-like laws of societal development, but are also regarded as fully capable of utilizing their "theoretical behaviour" in order actively to change the world, does it become possible to produce "meaning for human actions." This "meaning for human actions" does not, as Seidel (1966: 1179) claimed, derive from "logical, mathematical or natural laws." It can only be found in everyday praxis, and it has to be reproduced by the daily experiences of working people over and over again.

One could argue, taking Seidel's exposition into account, that, for example, the so-called historical mission of the working class could not be deduced from some abstract theory about class struggle alone (see Peters and Wrona, 1967: 1112). Only if working people experience the necessity for class struggle in their everyday life (in praxis), do they become able fully to comprehend the need to get involved in political action. Thus the GDR could only answer the most "vital questions of the German nation" more successfully than the "imperialist" FRG, if "Marxist-Leninist" politics would unreservedly call on the working people to become actively involved in the practical and theoretical struggles of their time, to make use of all their available creative power.

In our next chapter, we continue research into the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* by formulating what we call a short interim assessment of mid-1960s knowledge of the history of the origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts. This will allow us to identify scientific and scholarly advances in the later literatures dealing with the same topics.

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Chapter Six
The Historical Origins of the 1845–46 Manuscripts

A Short Interim Assessment of the State of Scholarly Knowledge in the Mid-1960s

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the editors of the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition of *The German Ideology* were able to identify "five parts" of it, which were "written at different times and in different circumstances" and which had previously been used to construct a chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" (IMLSED, 1966: 1198). Although this statement is a clear mark of progress, we also have to stress that the 1966 editors did not make much use of their new insights at the time. Thus a completely different and more accurate description of the historical origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts could have been rendered by any editor as early as the mid-1960s.

In order to substantiate this claim we now provide a brief example of how a new and more scientific narrative could have been provided merely by referring to knowledge that was already available in the mid-1960s. Later on in this chapter we will compare this interim assessment (40 years after the Ryazanov edition and 40 years before the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition) with other accounts of the historical origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts that were published from the late 1960s onward. By doing so it will become possible to distinguish clearly between a mere repetition of old expositions, on the one hand, and real scholarly advances, on the other. By taking these crucial points (as mentioned in chapter 5) into consideration, we have constructed the following alternative narrative of the events of 1845–46.

Neither in the "spring of 1845," as the *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition had suggested, nor at the "end of October/beginning of November 1845," as claimed by the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition, did Marx and Engels plan to write a book or any other work entitled *The German Ideology* (IMLSED, 1958a: 547; 1966: 1194). Triggered by the publication of the third volume of *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift* in October 1845, Marx and Engels merely wrote a couple of articles in defense of their own ideas. One of them was published as a "note" in the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*; others, which were intended to be more detailed, grew longer and longer.

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Sometime in the winter or early spring of 1846 Marx and Engels must then have decided to produce a more extensive work under the title "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," which was supposed to comprise the two critiques "*Sankt Bruno*" and "*Sankt Max*." During the process of writing, Marx and Engels must also have arrived at the idea that some other work should deal with "true socialists" like Grün. This second work was then entitled "*Der wahre Sozialismus*" (see Marx and Engels, 1968f: 97, 513). From Marx's (1968b: 62) letter to Weydemeyer, written on May 14, 1846, we know that a division into a "first volume" and a "second volume" was made, but it is not known whether this applied to the ordering of book volumes or issues of a journal or other multiauthor edited periodical publication.

However, the extensive work on the two "volumes" kept both authors occupied until the middle or end of May 1846. Only afterward were Marx and Engels able to take a closer look at several leftover manuscript pages, which had been produced while working on "*Sankt Bruno*" and "*Sankt Max*." At some point during their work Marx had paginated three very different fragments (the "three parts") with page numbers 1–72. Furthermore, by examining some of Marx's marginal notes, we find that large parts of this so-called main manuscript had also been identified as dealing with Feuerbach. Clearly, Marx and Engels had started to gather materials for a critique of Feuerbach before Engels left for Paris on August 15, 1846, but from all we know, it is very unlikely that Marx and Engels ever thought of simply taking these remaining manuscript pages and having them printed (IMLSED, 1959: 674). We give three reasons for this conclusion:

- Marx's pagination merely reflected the chronological order in which the fragments were written. These fragments were completely incoherent and full of contradictions, mainly because they had been written down at "different times and in different circumstances" (IMLSED, 1966: 1198). Marx and Engels must have decided to rewrite completely the "main manuscript," in order to turn it into something more consistent and readable. Marx's pagination, therefore, was only preliminary.
- Although Marx and Engels had touched on Feuerbach a couple of times, while writing their critiques of Bauer and Stirner, one could argue that their treatment of the "true socialists" had become an "immediate cause" for writing an independent critique under the title "*I. Feuerbach*." In 1960, Herwig Förder in his book *Marx und Engels am Vorabend der Revolution* (Marx and Engels on the eve of the revolution) had stressed that it was the "true socialists" who in particular had "a penchant for Feuerbach" (29; see Grün, 1975: 49–75).
- In the early summer of 1846, Marx and Engels were not only able to add new ideas to the "main manuscript," which they had gained while completing the "second volume," they had also learned that Feuerbach was about to publish a new article entitled "*Das Wesen der Religion*." A critical examination of Feuerbach's latest work would have been essential for any critique that dealt with Feuerbach independently of Bauer and Stirner (see IMLSED, 1966: 1195).

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By taking these three reasons for completely rewriting the "main manuscript" into account, we can understand why Marx and Engels then started to prepare different beginnings to their planned critique of Feuerbach (these two "fair copies" of so-called chapter openings were the two other "parts" of the "five parts" previously identified by the editors of the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition). Engels then left for Paris (August 15, 1846) and promised Marx in a letter (August 19, 1846) that he would read Feuerbach's new work and would also send his own excerpts over to Brussels. Marx waited two months (letter from Engels to Marx of October 18, 1846) and did not work on the "main manuscript" very much. Instead, he wrote his "*Vorrede*," the only fragment in these manuscripts written solely in his hand. Since Engels never sent anything substantial on Feuerbach, Marx finally abandoned the project of writing a critique "*I. Feuerbach*."

However, there were also two other reasons why Marx eventually lost interest in the manuscripts that are known to us as *The German Ideology*: no publishers could be found, and, furthermore, Marx decided in December 1846 to write his *Misère de la philosophie* (IMLSED, 1958a: 548; 1959: 674).

To conclude our interim assessment of the state of scholarly knowledge concerning the historical origins of *The German Ideology* manuscripts, we note that the so-called chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" was in fact never written, and, therefore, does not exist. What exists in print (since 1924) is only a collection of incoherent fragments, written at "different times and in different circumstances." And anyway only those sections that deal explicitly with Feuerbach might have been used by Marx (and possibly Engels) to draft parts of the planned critique "*I. Feuerbach*" (IMLSED, 1966: 1198). Furthermore, what is known to us as *The German Ideology* is in fact nothing but a loosely ordered arrangement of different critiques. We do not possess any evidence whatsoever that, for example, the numbering "*I. Feuerbach*," "*II. Sankt Bruno*," "*III. Sankt Max*" ever referred to "chapters." Perhaps the numbering merely ordered a collection of different contributions within a "first volume" of some sort. "Feuerbach" would then have been the first polemical contribution, followed by "Sankt Bruno" and then by "Sankt Max."

Even though it would have been possible to produce a narrative of historical events like the above in the mid-1960s, no one was able or willing to do so. This was most likely due to the political importance of *The German Ideology* in general and the so-called chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" in particular. As a prominent example of the persistent political utilization of the work we single out Auguste Cornu's 1967 speech "*Die Herausbildung des historischen Materialismus in Marx' 'Thesen über Feuerbach,' Engels' 'Die Lage der arbeitenden Klasse in England' und in 'Die deutsche Ideologie'*" (The Emergence of Historical Materialism in Marx's "Theses on Feuerbach," Engels's "The Condition of the Working Class in England" and in "The German Ideology"). In line with traditional interpretations of *The German Ideology*, Cornu (1888–1981) (1967: 14) referred explicitly to the alleged "overall presentation of the basic principles of historical materialism" in Marx and Engels's "work."

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Marxist "Philosophy of Praxis" and C. J. Arthur's English-Language Edition of 1970

Although the practical and active side of human behavior was developed in Marxist philosophy by Seidel in the mid-1960s, this theoretical advance was not incorporated into East German textbooks at the time. Even a brief look at the 1972 edition of the book *Einführung in den dialektischen und historischen Materialismus* (Introduction to dialectical and historical materialism) reveals that the policy of the East German SED was still staunchly based on the "unimpeded perception and conscious enforcement of societal laws of development" (Redlow et al., 1972: 198). However, in the early 1970s, it was Josef Schleifstein (1915–92), a prominent scholar and member of the Central Committee (*Parteivorstand*) of the West German Communist Party (DKP), who challenged the official East German "scientific ideology," which had always stressed the dependence of the working class on "objective laws" and "basic principles" (IMLSED, 1956: XIV; Steigerwald, 1982: 832). Seidel's influence on Schleifstein's work becomes obvious if one reads what Schleifstein wrote on the "societal praxis of the human being" only five years after the second GDR "Praxis Discussion."

In his 1972 book *Einführung in das Studium von Marx, Engels und Lenin* (Introduction to the study of Marx, Engels and Lenin), Schleifstein (1995: 42) emphasized that "intellectual activity" should be perceived as a "weapon" or an "instrument" for "world-changing, revolutionary praxis." Thus Marxist theory supposedly rejects any "belief in historical fate and in laws which act independently of human beings and their activities" (72). Instead it is "human praxis" that not only changes nonhuman nature in a historical process, but more importantly "human praxis" also changes human beings themselves and their social relations. According to Schleifstein, these important insights were expounded by Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology* a whole "decade before the excavation of Neanderthal man" in 1856 (66).

However, it was not only in East and West Germany at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s that scholars like Seidel and Schleifstein started to emphasize the importance of "human praxis." In the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (SFRY), for instance, so-called praxis-philosophy formed an integral part of a strong line of criticism of the Soviet Union and its socialist model. The book *Dialektik der Praxis* (Dialectics of praxis), written by Mihailo Marković (1927–) in 1968, is as much an example of this kind of anti-Soviet literature as other publications by Gajo Petrović (1927–93), Svetozar Stojanović (1931–), and Predrag Vranicki (1922–2002) (see Marković, 1968). In Yugoslavia intellectual criticism of Stalin's writing *On Dialectical and Historical Materialism* (1938), along with the rejection of an allegedly canonized Marxism, was developing in conjunction with a semicapitalist market economy. Self-contained economic entities, mainly profit-driven, were replacing overall economic planning by the socialist state. Socialism was seen as a possibility in human history, but no longer as an inevitable necessity. The future of human history was declared to be open in principle (Hofmann, 1976: 160–2).

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In the United Kingdom the category "praxis" or "practice" also became fashionable at the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s. Once again, a new edition of *The German Ideology* served as a vehicle in this historical development. C. J. Arthur's "Editor's Introduction" to his 1970 English-language "students edition" of *The German Ideology* bears witness to the international reevaluation of Marxist thought in the light of "human practice." In his introduction Arthur (1982a) felt obliged to "warn" readers of *The German Ideology* against "one common misinterpretation." He wrote:

> It is possible to select certain one-sided formulations . . . and make these the basis of a fatalistic view which negates human purposefulness and activity. This kind of view is sometimes referred to as "mechanical materialism," since its categories are homologous with those with which natural science treats its objects. A careful reading of Marx's work soon shows that this interpretation is not adequate; because the circumstances which are held to shape and form consciousness are not independent of human activity. They are precisely the social relations which have been historically created by human action. Hence the importance of "practice" in Marx's work (22).

According to Arthur's understanding of the 1845–46 manuscripts, "all men are both products of circumstances and potential changers of circumstances." In his view, Marx "insisted on a more dialectical relation between circumstances and activity, which must be grasped as 'revolutionary practice.'" Here Arthur went well beyond the interpretation of the category "praxis" as it had been articulated by Seidel, Schleifstein, and Marković. Arthur rightly maintained, albeit in rather strained English, that "Marx's materialism does comprehend 'revolutionary practice,'" which "gives it a dynamic edge, lacking in the models which one-sidedly abstract from history the aspect of passive determination" (23).

While authorities in the USSR and the GDR certainly had no problems with Marx's epistemological understanding of "practice" as the criterion of truth for human knowledge, it was a decidedly different matter when considering any form of "practice" that is allegedly "revolutionary" (see Marx, 1994a: 116–18). As Falko Schmieder (1970–) pointed out in his 2004 article *"Wir müssen alle durch den Feuerbach: Anmerkungen zur Neu-Edition der 'Deutschen Ideologie' von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels"* (We must all go through the Feuerbach [i.e., literally Feuerbach = Brook of Fire]: remarks on the new edition of the "German Ideology" by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels), Soviet and GDR authorities were strongly opposed to any promotion of "practical-critical" or even "revolutionary" activities within their sphere of influence. Hence "revolutionary practice" was also a taboo in the USSR and the GDR of the late 1960s and early 1970s (Schmieder, 2004).

This becomes understandable if one takes into explicit consideration that those parts of Mao Tse-tung's 1937 work "On Practice" had been chosen for the mass-publicized *Quotations from Chairman Mao Tse-tung* during the 1966–69 "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," in which Mao (1893–1976) (1965: 304; 1968: 118) called for a "leap from rational perception to revolutionary practice." Chinese Communists claimed that even after the dictatorship of the proletariat was established,

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only an uninterrupted (*bú duàn*) revolution could safeguard socialist development. Any counterrevolutionary and revisionist activities, such as they had observed in the USSR under Khrushchev, should be prevented in the People's Republic of China (PRC) through a renewed revolution. Former leaders of the Communist Party of China (CPC), like Liu Shaoqi (1898–1969) and Deng Xiaoping (1904–97), who were supposedly exponents of a "bourgeois reactionary line," were removed from office and publicly criticized. "Revolutionary practice" (*gé mìng de shí jiàn*) meant in this context that young people, organized as "red guards," would not only question but ultimately change everything that they perceived to be authoritarian and reactionary (Schmidt-Glintzer, 2001: 89–91; Schoenhals, 2003: 410–14).

Although Arthur did not mention any need for "revolutionary practice" in existing socialist states (nor did he mention the "Cultural Revolution"), he clearly wanted to stress that his reinterpretation of the 1845–46 manuscripts could lead to a completely different understanding of "revolution" and "socialism" as it was taught and practiced variously in the USSR and the GDR at the time. To this end, Arthur (1982a: 24) also emphasized his controversial thesis that "Stirner's impact on Marx has been underestimated." This reference to Stirner must also be seen in the context of historical events at the end of the 1960s and the early 1970s.

Markus Henning (1963–) has correctly pointed out that there were attempts within the "anti-authoritarian student movement" of the late 1960s to synthesize Marx's revolutionary theory with anarchist ideas (Henning, 1996: 16). There was also a renaissance in the study of Stirner's major work *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (The ego and its own), leading to a reevaluation of his alleged "anarchism" (Meyer, 1991: 461–2). Of all the theorists that Marx and Engels criticized in what is known to us as *The German Ideology* (Feuerbach, Bauer, Grün, etc.), only Stirner later became a "classical author" for a whole political movement that is still with us today (Timm, 1996: 130).

In communist literature of the 1960s, for example, in Hans Günter Helms's 1966 *Die Ideologie der anonymen Gesellschaft: Max Stirners "Einziger" und der Fortschritt des demokratischen Selbstbewußtseins vom Vormärz bis zur Bundesrepublik* (The ideology of the anonymous society: Max Stirner's "Ego" and the advance of democratic self-consciousness from pre-1848 to the Federal Republic) and Herzberg's 1968 article "*Die Bedeutung der Kritik von Marx und Engels an Max Stirner*" (The significance of Marx and Engels's critique of Max Stirner), Stirner was portrayed throughout as a "petit-bourgeois author," an "anarchist" or even an "intellectual trailblazer of fascism" (Helms, 1966: 5; Herzberg, 1968: 1467). This was thought to be in line with Marx and Engels's 1846 critique of Stirner in what has become known as *The German Ideology*, where they had labeled him the "emptiest, shallowest brain among the philosophers" (Marx and Engels, 1968f: 507). Thus the GDR, for example, never reprinted *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*, and Marxists generally felt obliged to remind their readers of the "political dangerousness of Stirner's ideology" (Maruhn, 1982: I).

Keeping this widespread perception of Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* in mind, one can clearly see the significance of Arthur's 1970 "Editor's Introduction"

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to his edition of *The German Ideology*. Very much in line with McLellan's 1969 *The Young Hegelians and Karl Marx*, Arthur stressed the positive influence of Stirner on Marx and Engels in 1845–46 (see McLellan, 1974: 152–3). According to Arthur (1982a), Marx and Engels were "rather unfair to Stirner" when they criticized Stirner's account of what "communists" allegedly were. Arthur correctly argued that Stirner was of course only able to describe and criticize those "communists" in 1844 who were around before the ideas of Marx and Engels had as yet had any impact on the workers' movement. These "communists" were mostly "true socialists." Only after Marx and Engels had adopted Stirner's critique of the "true socialists" were they able to develop their new ideas about "communists." And once Marx and Engels had done so, they began to blame Stirner for not knowing what "communists" are (24).

Having presented the way that Arthur's 1970 "Editor's Introduction" ran counter to mainstream Soviet-Marxist thought, we also emphasize that his rendition of the 1845–46 manuscripts was anything but "revolutionary practice." Strangely enough, Arthur did not make use of the progressive 1965/66 Bagaturiya edition as a model for his own edition of the "first chapter" (*I. Feuerbach*) of *The German Ideology*. Instead he must have set himself the grotesque task of even surpassing the 1932 Adoratskii edition in the quest for constructing a text that has nothing to do with what Marx and Engels had left behind. At first sight one might think that Arthur's 1970 edition had simply followed the 1964 English-language edition, as published by Progress Publishers, Moscow (see chapter 5). However, Arthur must have been dissatisfied with the "logical" arrangement of the manuscripts being the same as in the 1932 Adoratskii edition, because he completely reorganized the manuscripts that were already mixed up. There is no explanation of his method in his 1970 edition of *The German Ideology*. However, a short example from the edited text will shed some light on what Arthur did to the 1845–46 manuscripts.

While, for example, the editors under Adoratskii placed pages 20 and 21 in between the two pages 10 and 30, Arthur must have thought pages 20 and 21 would fit much better in between the two pages 68 and 24 (according to Marx's pagination of the so-called main manuscript). We are certainly not in a position to judge whether the 1932 Adoratskii edition or the 1970 Arthur edition makes more sense in a bizarre world in which anyone seems to be entitled to improve and finish the work of Marx and Engels. However, we must point out that the 1965/66 Bagaturiya edition, placing pages 20 and 21 in between pages 19 and 22, was definitely a good (and even logical!) step forward in a world in which scientific accuracy and good faith might still be taken seriously (Marx and Engels, 1932a: 34–5; 1982: 57–8).

Just as much as Adoratskii felt called upon to add "section headings" high-handedly wherever he thought they would fit, Arthur announced in his "Editor's Preface" that he had also "broken up the text by section headings." Obviously the 18 "section headings" that one can find scattered through his 1970 edition were freely invented by Arthur himself and then simply added to the garbled text. Arthur excused this procedure by saying that he had tried to ensure that the arrangement of the material is as readable as possible." As a result, a "coherent" chapter "*I. Feuerbach*"

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was once more constructed, the text was completely smoothed, Marx's pagination of the text and even some complete paragraphs were suppressed for no apparent reason, and the translation was unsatisfying.

Furthermore, "*II. Sankt Bruno*" and "*III. Sankt Max*" were also completely disfigured by presenting only 13 randomly chosen fragments to readers. This was done by Arthur because the "remaining chapters" allegedly "contain super-polemics." However, according to Arthur, there "do exist 'oases in the desert.'" Here Arthur was obviously referring to Mehring's 1918 judgment of what has become known as *The German Ideology*, which Mehring had excusably made 14 years before the manuscripts were published as a whole for the first time in the MEGA1 edition of 1932 (see chapter 2). Possibly Arthur understood how outdated and superficial Mehring's 1918 judgment was, so he did not even bother to mention Mehring (1976: 120) as the source from which he quoted.

Finally, one must say that the sketchy history of the origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts, as provided by Arthur in his 1970 "Editor's Preface," clearly lagged behind the best knowledge of the mid-1960s, as outlined in our interim assessment at the beginning of this chapter (Arthur, 1982b: 1–2). Arthur's 1970 "students edition" is just as much a scissors-and-paste job as the useless 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition, underestimating the intellectual abilities of any reasonable student. Hence it is more than surprising that Lawrence & Wishart, London, is still printing and selling this antiquated edition of *The German Ideology* at the time of writing (see Lawrence & Wishart, 2006).

The 1972 MEGA2 "Probeband" Edition of *The German Ideology*

While the second "Praxis Discussion" in the GDR (1966–67) was long over by the beginning of the 1970s, and Seidel henceforth devoted himself to the study of the history of pre-Marxist philosophy, it was scholars from the USSR and particularly from the GDR who once again set the standards in editing the 1845–46 manuscripts (Ruge and Kinner, 2005: 5). Editors such as Inge Taubert and Johanna Dehnert were at the forefront when it came to translating new findings concerning the historical origins of the manuscripts into an overdue deconstruction of the Feuerbach chapters previously cobbled together, such as the amateurish Adoratskii and Arthur editions. As one of the most significant results of this process, a new edition of the manuscripts was prepared for the 1972 MEGA2 "*Probeband*" ("Trial Volume"). Unfortunately, the MEGA2 "*Probeband*" was never sold on the market, and therefore it was not reliably available for public use even in many university libraries (Koltan, 1995: 5).

The reason for this was that the "*Probeband*" was only sent out to a small group of specialists. Just as much as Ryazanov had used his *Marx-Engels-Archiv* for presenting manuscripts of Marx and Engels to the scholarly community even "before they will appear in the complete edition [MEGA1]," the editors of the "*Probeband*" wanted to give "future users and collaborators with MEGA" the chance "to put forward their opinions and suggestions." In order to provide scholars with a representative

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selection of writings by Marx and Engels, around 25 different excerpts, manuscripts, articles, interviews, published writings, and letters were chosen out of everything ever committed to paper by the two authors. The fact that the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts had been selected for yet another "pre-print" once more underscores not only the significance of the 1845–46 manuscripts in relation to all the other writings by Marx and Engels but also the problems involved in correctly editing them (Rjazanov, 1926b: 2–3; IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972b: 6*).

Since in our next chapter we will briefly discuss the historical development of the MEGA2 project from its very beginning in the mid-1960s up to the present day, we will now concentrate solely on the distinctive features of the 1972 *"Probeband"* edition of *The German Ideology*. First of all one must note that the 1845–46 manuscripts were correctly identified as being part of the so-called first division (*"erste Abteilung"*) of MEGA2. While the other three divisions comprise *Das Kapital* (second division), letters (third division), excerpts, and short notes (fourth division), the first division is dedicated to works, articles, and unfinished manuscripts or rough drafts (*"Entwürfe"*) (1972b: 13*).

With regard to the 1845–46 manuscripts, which were accurately placed in the first division, the editors of the MEGA2 "*Probeband*" wrote that their new editorial methods will "illustrate the genesis of important ideas of Marxism and provide insights into the working methods of its founders." The 1972 editors claimed that "because of the textual-critical [*textkritische*] treatment" and "the presentation of the complete development of the handwritten text [*innerhandschriftliche Textentwicklung*] . . . a more exact and scientifically convincing reproduction of important writings will be achieved" (1972b: 15*).

The editors of the 1972 "*Probeband*" stressed for the first time in the history of the editions of *The German Ideology* that the "genesis of the manuscripts" is just as important as any so-called version of the "last hand." Furthermore, the 1972 editors claimed that whenever Marx and Engels "worked out, formulated and justified their fundamental theoretical discoveries," one can observe a "protracted, complicated and creative process that was reflected in several manuscripts and versions for printing." Thus new and important insights into Marx's and Engels's writings could only be understood if the different stages of their work were displayed and made clearly visible to readers. This method of documenting the whole of the work process from the first to the last stroke is not only a "prerequisite" of any historical-critical edition, as the 1972 editors conceded, but also possesses particular importance for "making the life's work of the founders of Marxism accessible." Hence it forms an integral part of any research "grounded in dialectical and historical materialism."

According to the 1972 editors, it was part of the "essence" of the work of Marx and Engels "incessantly" to develop and improve their "scientific theory." This "process did not only manifest itself in the emergence of new writings, but also in the revision of already written works." In opposition to existing "study editions" and also "in many aspects" to the first MEGA, it will be the "main task" of the second MEGA, so the editors said, to expose fully the close relation between the intellectual development of Marx and Engels and the textual development of their writings. In

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conclusion, we must point out that the editors of the 1972 MEGA2 "*Probeband*" wanted their readers to know that the double volumes of the "complete edition," the half-volumes comprising "text," and the half-volumes comprising "text variants" form a "homogeneous whole." It is therefore important to keep in mind that the content of any MEGA2 *apparatus criticus* was intended to be of exactly the same scientific and scholarly significance as the printed text itself (1972b: 22*–3*).

The editors emphasized the importance of what they entitled *The German Ideology*, not only because of its remarkable expositions, but also because it provides a particular challenge to any editor. According to the scholars who worked on the publication of the 1972 "Probeband," one could observe "almost all the general problems" an editor could be confronted with when editing handwritten manuscripts like the ones of 1845–46. Besides being the most extensive handwritten texts in the "*Probeband*," the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts were also presented as the most complicated ones.

This is due to two major difficulties: First, the 1845–46 manuscripts do not provide unambiguous information on the ordering of the material. The 1972 editors—along with the 1966 editors—stressed that they had to deal with "separate parts, which were produced at different times and which were initially part of other chapters of the work" (IMSLED, 1972b: 31*). Second, the 1845–46 manuscripts are a prominent example of a complicated process of writing and rewriting. The development of the text must, for example, be presented in a separate *apparatus criticus*, providing the reader with "a kind of 'archaeological map' of the different layers of revisions" (Fromm, 2007: 2). An accurate chronological distinction between "*Sofortvarianten*" (immediate variants) and "*Spätvarianten*" (late variants) is often difficult to achieve.

The 1972 editors of the MEGA2 "*Probeband*" claimed that their new edition "does not result from a different interpretation of the likely intentions of the authors," but instead arises out of their concentration on what can be "explicitly perceived in the sources" (1972b: 32*). However, 40 years previously, Adoratskii (1932b: 561) had also intended to publish the 1845–46 manuscripts in accordance with all the "notes, marginal notes, commentaries and other statements, which were made by Marx and Engels themselves in the manuscript." How then did it happen that these two editorial teams came up with such different results? How is it that the 1972 "*Probeband*" edition is much more scientific? And, finally, why is it that the "*Probeband*" edition does not mark the end of the political history of editions? Answers to these important questions can only be found in the *apparatus criticus* of the "Probeband" itself.

Although there can be no doubt that the 1972 edition was a quantum leap in the history of the editions of *The German Ideology*, the following list of positive and negative aspects also clearly reveals its shortcomings. Some of the information rendered here, dealing mainly with the historical origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts, had already been put forward by Taubert (formerly Tilhein) in her 1968 article "*Zur materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung von Marx and Engels: Über einige theoretische Probleme im ersten Kapitel der 'Deutschen Ideologie'*" ("Concerning the materialist

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conception of history by Marx and Engels: on some theoretical problems in the first chapter of the 'German Ideology' "). These were later on integrated into the *apparatus criticus* of the 1972 edition (Taubert, 1968: 27–50). Thus we will here draw solely on statements from the 1972 *apparatus criticus*.

Positive Aspects of the 1972 MEGA2 "Probeband" Edition

The editors stressed that "the beginning of [Marx and Engels's] work on the 'German Ideology' cannot be dated." On this particular topic, the 1972 editors also rendered a completely new piece of information by writing that Hess had announced a "critique of the holy men" in his journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (issue no. VI), published toward the end of November 1845 (see Heß, 1971: 95). According to the "*Probeband*," this announcement could be interpreted as relating to the "jointly planned project by Marx, Engels and Heß" (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 402).

In the *apparatus criticus* the editors of the "*Probeband*" edition underscored the fact that the whole of the manuscripts, known to us as *The German Ideology*, does "not possess an overall title [*Gesamttitel*]." Although the 1972 editors could have done it just like Engels, who in 1842 called his dog "Namenloser" (nameless), they must somehow have decided on the editorial title "*Die deutsche Ideologie*." Whether this was advisable should not be of any concern to us at this moment. The important thing was that the editors acknowledged the substantial difference between titles and subheadings that can be found in the manuscripts, and titles and subheadings that cannot be found in the manuscripts (1972a: 400; Engels, 1973: 503–4).

In contrast to the editors of the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition, who had already identified "five parts" (which were previously used to construct a coherent chapter "*I. Feuerbach*"), the editors of the 1972 "*Probeband*" named "seven relatively independent parts" (IMLSED, 1966: 1198). Parts one and two are the two so-called chapter openings, both entitled "*I. Feuerbach*" in Engels's hand. Parts three and four are the two short text fragments that were allegedly paginated by Engels with the numbers "3)" and "5." (see chapter 5). Finally, parts five–seven are the three text fragments that were left over after Marx and Engels had finished their draft works on Bauer and Stirner. Parts five–seven were later on paginated chronologically by Marx, and Ryazanov termed that the "main manuscript" (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 404).

The editors of the 1972 edition argued that we do not possess any information by Marx and Engels on how the first four parts should be arranged. Thus all four parts were not merged into one single "chapter opening," but were rendered neatly separated in the "*Probeband*" edition. This meant in particular that each of them either started on a new page or that three lines of free space marked the end of one part and the beginning of another. In comparison with the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition, which had inserted part one ("*A. Die Ideologie überhaupt, namentlich die deutsche*") into the middle of part two (just before "*1. Die Ideologie überhaupt, speziell die deutsche Philosophie*"), this was a tremendous advance in a more scientific direction (Marx and Engels, 1966: 1199–203; 1972: 33–8).

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The 1972 editors also reduced Engels's short manuscript line "*I. Feuerbach: Gegensatz von materialistischer und idealistischer Anschauung*," which he had scribbled (apparently after Marx's death in 1883) on the last page of the so-called main manuscript, to a mere editorial title (rather than putative book title) for the whole of the "seven parts." This editorial title was then clearly separated from what Marx and Engels had committed to paper in 1845–46, so that there would be no confusion for the reader. Of course, editors have the freedom to choose any editorial title they like, for example, for the "seven parts," as long as they do not pretend that Engels himself wanted this short manuscript line at the end of one of these parts to be taken as a title for the whole of this incoherent collection of fragments (1972: 31, 118).

The 1972 editors argued that "at the beginning of the work on the 'German Ideology' Marx and Engels did not intend to open their publication with a chapter 'Feuerbach.'" Instead they had wanted to deal with Feuerbach's ideas as part of their critique of Bauer and his article "*Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs*," which had been published by the middle of October 1845 in *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift* (see Bauer, 1845: 86–146). Furthermore, it was stressed by the editors of the "*Probeband*" that not even as late as the winter of 1845/46 had a "presentation of their own [Marx and Engels's] views in a separate chapter" been planned (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 403).

According to the editors of the "*Probeband*," the 1972 edition is supposed to provide a "form of text-reproduction that illuminates the fragmentary character" of the 1845–46 manuscripts. Any remarks by Marx and Engels indicating how they might have completed their revisions are merely rendered by the editors rather than followed. Readers would therefore be enabled to witness precisely in which "stage of work" Marx and Engels had stopped writing on the respective manuscripts (1972a: 416).

For the first time in the history of these editions editors had decided to render all the existing "Feuerbach-manuscripts" in a two-column format. This meant in particular that Engels's handwriting can be found on the left-hand side (just as in the original printer's sheets), and any insertions and marginal notes (including Marx's text amplifications) can be found on the right-hand side of the pages (Marx and Engels, 1972: 33–119).

The 1972 editors also made an effort to reproduce every single word of the manuscripts in exactly the same way that Marx and Engels had written them down in 1845–46. Therefore, they did not modernize the German in order to produce a smooth text for twentieth-century readers. The character "&" for example, which previous editors had always changed into "*und*" ("and"), was left as such within the text. Here are two short examples taken from the MEGA1 and the "*Probeband*" edition that clearly illustrate the progress made by the 1972 editors (alterations have been underlined):

1932 MEGA1 edition:

"Handel und Manufaktur schufen die große Bourgeoisie, in den Zünften konzentrierte sich die Kleinbürgerschaft, die nun nicht mehr wie früher, in den Städten

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herrschte, sondern der Herrschaft der großen Kaufleute und Manufacturiers sich beugen mußte." (Marx and Engels, 1932a: 46)

1972 MEGA2 "*Probeband*" edition:

"Handel & Manufactur schufen die große Bourgeoisie, in den Zünften konzentrirte sich die Kleinbürgerschaft, die nun nicht mehr wie früher, in den Städten herrschte, sondern der Herrschaft der großen Kaufleute & Manufactüriers sich beugen mußte." (Marx and Engels, 1972: 88)

Although Marx and Engels actually only wrote "Mctur" instead of "Manufactur," it has to be stressed that the 1972 edition at least tried to be truer to the original manuscripts than any other previous edition of what is known to us as *The German Ideology* (Marx and Engels, 2004: 60).

Finally, the editors of the "*Probeband*" edition added a few more clues that are needed for deciphering the enigmatic events that occurred just after Marx and Engels had finished their work on the "second volume" (middle or end of May 1846). While it was already known that Weydemeyer must have taken most of the manuscripts of the "first volume" with him to Germany by the middle of April 1846, it was still unclear what exactly had happened to the manuscripts on the "true socialists." According to the 1972 editors, Marx and Engels must also have asked Georg Weerth (1822–56), another acquaintance of theirs, to take the "second volume" with him when he traveled from Brussels to Germany at the end of May or the beginning of June 1846 (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 402). The German "true socialists" Julius Meyer and Rudolph Rempel (1818–68), who had initially been willing to finance the publication of the manuscripts, at first delayed any further negotiations with the authors and then finally revoked their offer by the middle of July 1846. But what exactly happened to the manuscripts after that? According to the editors of the "*Probeband*" edition, Marx then asked Weydemeyer to send the manuscripts to Roland Daniels (1819–55), which Weydemeyer probably did at the end of July 1846. Daniels (IMSLED, 1972a: 403) was a friend of Marx and Engels and worked as a doctor in Cologne.

By providing these two new insights for their readers, the editors of the MEGA2 "*Probeband*" clearly went beyond mid-1960s knowledge concerning the historical origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts. However, many questions still remained unanswered.

Negative Aspects of the 1972 MEGA2 "Probeband" Edition

Although the editors of the 1972 "*Probeband*" had used Marx's phrase from a descriptive narrative of 1847 ("the German Ideology"; see chapter 4) as an editorial title for the manuscripts, they caused confusion in the *apparatus criticus* when it came to the presentation of their history. Even if, as stated in the *apparatus criticus*, Marx and Engels had started writing their critique of Bauer as early as the "middle of October 1845," they were certainly not writing anything that could be called *The German Ideology* (IMSLED, 1972a: 399). However, because the editors of the 1972 MEGA2 "*Probeband*" misused the title *The German Ideology* for everything Marx

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and Engels had produced in the early winter of 1845/46, readers would get the false impression that Marx and Engels had not only consciously planned to write a work entitled *The German Ideology*, but had also started doing so precisely in October 1845. It must have been clear to any editor in 1972 that in 1845 Marx and Engels had various publications on their minds quite other than a two-volume book dealing once again (as in *Die Heilige Familie*) with "Bruno Bauer and Co." (IMLSED, 1965b: 618; Engels, 1965b: 15; Marx and Engels, 1957: 3; see Leopold, 2007).

In contradiction to their own account, which was that a Feuerbach chapter does not exist, the editors wrote incessantly about a "first chapter of the 'German Ideology'" (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 404; IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972b: 31*). This is especially irritating for the reader, because this confusion on the part of the 1972 editors is also reflected in their arrangement of the 1845–46 manuscripts. Even though the editors stressed that "parts 1 to 4 had been written after" parts five–seven, which form the so-called main manuscript, they once again printed parts one–four in a position preceding parts five–seven (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 405).

What sense does it make to present every fragment separately if they are not rendered in chronological order? After all, this hermaphroditism between scientific correctness and high-handed text arrangement runs counter to the 1972 "*Editionsrichtlinien der Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe*" (Editorial guidelines of the Marx-Engels-Complete Edition) that were also published in the "*Probeban*d." Here one reads that the "chronology" of the manuscripts is the only basis for their "ordering within the separate divisions" of MEGA2. It was also stressed here that the "chronology" must be determined by an "analysis of the history of the origins" of the manuscripts (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972c: 43*).

In connection with the aforementioned confusion about the existence or nonexistence of a "chapter" "Feuerbach," we argue that the 1972 editors could have come up with a more convincing interpretation of what the "main manuscript" is all about. The two-column format allowed readers (for the first time in the history of the editions of *The German Ideology*) to see clearly what Marx had jotted down on the margins of the fragments. The editors maintained that those fragments, which had been "marked with "Feuerbach," "F." or "Geschichte," were later paginated by Marx and thereby identified by him as part of the chapter "Feuerbach" (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 413). However, one can also find words like "Hegel," "Sismondi," "self-alienation," and "usury!" written alongside certain sections of the fragments (Marx and Engels, 1972: 33–119). Does this mean that Marx and Engels had also planned chapters dealing with "Hegel," "Sismondi," "self-alienation," and "usury!"? This is rather unlikely. Therefore, it should have been clear to the 1972 editors that "parts 5 to 7" did not necessarily form a nucleus of a planned chapter "*I. Feuerbach*." Some of these merely chronologically arranged leftovers from Marx and Engels's work on "*II. Sankt Bruno*" and "*III. Sankt Max*" could have simply been cast aside and thus thrown away (for the benefit of those infamously hungry mice).

We must stress that although the 1972 editors had introduced the two-column format to the history of the editions of *The German Ideology*, they were not able to

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make full use of it. For no apparent reason they decided to insert several text additions, written by Marx and Engels on the right-hand side of the printer's sheets, into the main text on the left-hand side. While this was allegedly only done whenever the authors left unambiguous information (like lines and arrows) behind, which told the editors where to insert these text additions, there was absolutely no need for doing so (see 1972: 51; IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 416). Also this incoherence in the editorial work by the editors of the 1972 "*Probeband*" hinders readers from fully understanding all the small—but very important—steps in the thought processes of Marx and Engels. In particular the 1845–46 manuscripts provide readers with the rare opportunity to witness how much painstaking work had to be done by Marx and Engels in order to arrive at their new and revolutionary "conception of history" (the companion volume by the present authors [*Marx and Engels's "German ideology" Manuscripts: Presentation and Analysis of the "Feuerbach chapter"*] begins this work).

Finally, concerning the lost pages 36–39, which we mentioned in chapter 5, the editors of the 1972 edition of *The German Ideology* came up with an interesting theory. They claimed that these four pages, along with the rest of "part 7" of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts, had been produced by Marx and Engels while writing "*III. Sankt Max*." This was certainly not a revelation at the time (see chapter 5). However, what was new was the fact that for the first time editors tried to determine the content of these four missing pages. This of course could not be done by merely projecting the general flow of ideas that one could find on earlier and later pages of the "main manuscript" into the missing pages. It was not as simple as that. This was mainly because previous pages (such as 30–35) had been taken from a completely different section of "*III. Sankt Max*" dealing with a completely different topic. Pages 30–35, for example, had been written in connection with a section of "*III. Sankt Max*" called "*Die Hierarchie*" (Hierarchy), while pages 36–39 had been part of a section called "*Die Gesellschaft als bürgerliche Gesellschaft*" (Society as Bourgeois Society) (see IMSLED, 1972a: 410).

The editors had to go back to Engels's pagination of the printer's sheets. Since pages 36–39 (Marx's pagination) are equivalent to printer's sheets 82 (second page) and a follow-on to sheet 83, one must read printer's sheets 82 (first page) and 84 in order to get a rough idea of the content of the four missing pages (see Marx and Engels, 1932a: 332–40). After the editors had read the relevant pages of "*III. Sankt Max*," they argued that the missing pages had "probably" dealt with the beginning of an exposition about the "necessity of private ownership for certain stages of the development of the instruments of production and the division of labour" (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 414; see Marx and Engels, 1932a: 334). Furthermore, the editors maintained that Engels, who had inherited the 1845–46 manuscripts from Marx in 1883, had made use of them frequently while working, for example, on *Ludwig Feuerbach und der Ausgang der klassischen deutschen Philosophie* (*Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*) and *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats* (*The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*) (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 403).

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In his 1884 *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats*, Engels (1990b: 173) clearly referred to what became known as *The German Id*eology when he wrote: "In an old unpublished manuscript, the work of Marx and myself in 1846, I find the following: "The first division of labour is that between man and woman for child breeding." The editors of the "*Probeband*" argued that since this very sentence is obviously dealing with the origins of the division of labor, and since it cannot be found among the conserved manuscripts, it might have been part of the four missing pages (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1972a: 414–15). In conclusion, the four missing pages still existed in 1884, and perhaps it was Engels himself who separated them from the "two stout octavo volumes" (Marx, 1996b: 161). This piece of information is invaluable to anyone who is still searching for these four lost pages of the 1845–46 manuscripts.

New Hypotheses on the History of the Origins of *The German Ideology* by Galina Golowina

In 1980, the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* took another decisive turn. This time, it was neither due to a new edition of *The German Ideology*, nor to the discovery of missing manuscript pages. It was an article by Galina Danilowna Golowina that shed a completely different light on the history of the origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts. Golowina, a scientific staff member of the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the CPSU, had published her article "*Das Projekt der Vierteljahrsschrift von 1845/46: Zu den ursprünglichen Publikationsplänen der Manuskripte der 'Deutschen Ideologie'"* (The project of a quarterly of 1845/46: on the initial plans of publication for the manuscripts of the "German Ideology") in the German-language annual *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch* (no. 3). The *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch* itself was a joint publication by the Soviet and the East German IMLs.

According to Golowina, it was Marx in particular who was eager to set up a new periodical after the 1844 *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* could not be continued. The failure to get further numbers of the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* published was due not only to financial problems, but also to a growing political dissension between Marx and Arnold Ruge (1802–80), the coeditor of the 1844 yearbook. At first, Marx tried to find an existing periodical that he could use for the dissemination of his new and revolutionary ideas. For some time, Marx had worked together with Karl Ludwig Bernays (1815–79) in publishing the German-language Parisian newspaper *Vorwärts!* (Höppner, 1972: 26–7). Marx had wanted to turn this newspaper into a monthly journal in order to print longer and more detailed articles. However, the first edition of this monthly journal, entitled *Vorwärts! Pariser Deutsche Monatsschrift* (Forward! Parisian German monthly), was never printed because of a ban by the French government.

Shortly after that, Marx was expelled from France, and he then settled in Brussels at the beginning of February 1845 (Rubel, 1975: 20). What happened there to his plans to continue with the publication of some form of periodical? There is very little information on this crucial question in the writings and letters of Marx himself. Thus

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any research that is based merely on the *Marx-Engels-Werke*, published between 1956 and 1968, would not lead to any satisfactory results. However, it was only thanks to two new MEGA2 volumes, published in 1975 and 1979, that scholars like Golowina were able to find possible answers to the aforementioned question. The two new "historical-critical" volumes comprised not only letters by Marx and Engels to others (as the *Marx-Engels-Werke* already did), but also letters that they had received between 1835 and 1848 (see IMLSU and IMLSED, 1975; 1979).

Golowina claimed that "an analysis of the letters by Marx and Engels as well as the ones sent to them by others" led to the result that even after Marx had arrived in Brussels, he was still hoping to publish another theoretical journal. According to Golowina (1980), Marx was now planning a quarterly of no less than 20 printer's sheets in size. Any publication over the size of 20 printer's sheets was relatively safe from censorship prior to publication. This was irrespective of the fact that a quarterly would presumably comprise several shorter articles (260–1). Therefore, Marx had to solve three major problems in 1845: first, he needed a number of contributions by himself and others that he could publish in a journal of that size. Second, he needed money so he could pay some of the authors in advance and arrange for the printing. Third, he needed a publisher who was willing to print the quarterly in his own publishing house.

The first problem Marx tried to solve was the money problem. Here, Hess played an important, but conflicting, role. According to Golowina, it was mainly Hess who was in charge of negotiating with the German "capitalists" Meyer and Rempel (see Marx, 1965a: 448). These negotiations had already begun by November 1845. Meyer and Rempel were not completely convinced by Hess's suggestion to support the publication of a quarterly, but then they agreed to make an advance payment. Any author would receive three Louis d'Or (former French gold coins) per printer's sheet as fees (Golowina, 1980: 262). Furthermore, the "true socialists" Meyer and Rempel also told Hess that they would later on help with finding a publisher for the journal. However, Hess falsely reported back to Marx that Meyer and Rempel (Golowina, 1980: 261) themselves would not only pay for the publication but would also act as its publishers. In conclusion, Marx formed a mistaken and far too positive impression of the situation. It must have appeared to him as if everything was already settled and all that was left for him to do was to look for contributors to the journal.

Marx then immediately called upon his friends within the socialist/communist movement to send in all their finished manuscripts. Time was very short, because Hess had promised Meyer and Rempel (Golowina, 1980: 263) in November 1845 that the first manuscripts would arrive within four–six weeks. Besides the writings by Marx, Engels, and Hess, contributions by authors such as Weerth, Daniels, Bernays, and Wilhelm Weitling (1808–71) were anticipated for the quarterly (Golowina, 1980: 267–8). Weerth was probably the first one to send in a manuscript at the end of December 1845 (263). Since Marx was the commissioning editor for the planned journal, he also had to take care of all the fees. For example, Bernays, who suffered from grave financial problems, received 104 francs from the money that Meyer and Rempel had advanced (Golowina, 1980: 266–7).

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Golowina argued in her article that one could learn from a letter that Daniels had written to Marx on March 7, 1846, that the journal was supposed to feature critical essays and letters dealing with contemporary German philosophy (see Daniels, 1975: 514; Golowina, 1980: 264–5). Over the next few months several articles by the aforementioned authors were collected in Brussels, and Marx and Engels immediately started their work on the two critiques *contra* the German philosophers Bauer and Stirner (Golowina, 1980: 264 –5). The writings by Marx and Engels, which grew longer and longer between January and March 1846, would certainly have dominated the first volume of the quarterly (Golowina, 1980: 267).

In one of the most important letters, which demonstrates that Marx and Engels were working on the journal, George Julian Harney (1817–97) wrote to Engels on March 30, 1846: "I was glad to hear of your arrangements for the publication of your 'Quarterly' " (Harney, 1975: 523). While on the editorial side of the project things developed very fast, and Marx and Engels were already preparing materials for a second volume of the quarterly, problems arose from Hess's misjudgment of the role of Meyer and Rempel. When Weydemeyer returned to Germany, carrying with him the manuscripts for the first volume of the quarterly (middle of April 1846), he had to meet with the two "capitalists." During this meeting Weydemeyer realized that the whole project was built on the false assumption that Meyer and Rempel themselves would act as the publishers of the quarterly. Furthermore, Meyer and Rempel were only ready to support one single volume financially.

According to Golowina (1980), Weydemeyer then tried to negotiate further with the two German "capitalists," but did not achieve any clarity concerning the question of who was going to act as publisher. There were some ideas about publishing the first volume of the quarterly under the name of the editor(s) (like *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift*), but no printers had been found as yet (263). Soon after the middle of May 1846 any prospects of publishing the first and second volume of the quarterly quickly vanished. Not only was Marx tired of dealing with all the correspondence that was necessary in order to coordinate the various contributors to the journal, but also the "true socialists" Meyer and Rempel disapproved of the content of the volumes (see Marx, 1979: 10; Golowina, 1980: 266). At first, Meyer and Rempel blamed financial difficulties for delays in the publication of the quarterly, but then, at the beginning of July 1846, they withdrew their support completely (Golowina, 1980: 268–9).

Since the quarterly could definitely not be published with the help of Meyer and Rempel, Marx and Engels started to look for a publishing house by themselves. This was of course very difficult for any progressive writer at the time. In response to the lack of courageous publishers in Germany, some of Marx and Engels's fellow revolutionaries, such as Heinrich Bürgers (1820–78), Karl Ludwig Johann d'Ester (1811–59), and Moses Hess, arrived at the idea of setting up their own publishing house as a joint-stock company. Marx therefore asked Weydemeyer to send the manuscripts over to Daniels in Cologne where the publishing house was going to be set up.

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However, in the end, this project also failed, and some of the authors (like, e.g., Weitling in May 1846 and Hess in July 1846) had already started to ask for the return of their manuscripts. In her article, Golowina (1980: 269–71) concluded that only after Marx and Engels had failed to publish their quarterly as an "anthology" of critical writings by many different authors, did they decide to publish their own manuscripts separately. Whether this would have been done under the title *The German Ideology*, in the form of a journal or a book, in one or two volumes, has since that time been subject to some little speculation, as we have seen.

In our next chapter, we briefly recall some of the events that led to the end of East European communism. In order to fully investigate the impact of this far-reaching political development on the planned volume I/5 of MEGA2 (*The German Ideology*), we also thoroughly analyze the history of MEGA2 before and after the crucial years 1989–91.

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Chapter Seven

The End of East European Communism and Its Impact on the Preparation of Volume I/5 of MEGA2

MEGA2 before and after the Years 1989–91

After most of the mysteries concerning the history of the origins of what has become known as *The German Ideology* had been solved between the mid-1960s and 1980, a much quieter decade followed. Golowina's exciting discoveries, made by using some of the newly published MEGA2 volumes, were reflected in other editions of works by Marx and Engels. Volume 38 of the English-language *Marx-Engels-Collected Works*, published by Lawrence & Wishart, London, in 1982, is a prominent example. Footnote 57 provides the reader with a short account of Golowina's hypotheses, and by doing so illuminates the historical background of a letter of 1846 from Marx to Weydemeyer (see Marx, 1982: 41–4; Sazonov and Golman, 1982: 575–6).

Another reason why the 1845–46 manuscripts did not receive much attention from Soviet and East German scholars in the 1980s is the fact that these scholars were working tirelessly on the publication of further MEGA2 volumes containing the writings of Marx and Engels, which they had committed to paper before August 1844. No less than six new volumes comprising the "early works" were published by 1988 (Taubert, 1987: 16). This was not only a major achievement in the field of scientific editing, it can also be seen as a *conditio sine qua non* for the anticipated MEGA2 edition of *The German Ideology*. About 60 years after the first publication of almost the entire 1845–46 manuscripts in Adoratskii's MEGA1 of 1932, a new historical-critical edition should have become the showpiece of the second MEGA in the early 1990s. However, political events once again altered the history of the editions of *The German Ideology*.

It all began with the annexation of the German Democratic Republic by the Federal Republic of Germany between 1989 and 1990. On November 9, 1989, border crossing points between East and West Germany were opened, and the so-called Unification Treaty of August 31, 1990, marked the end of a sovereign socialist state in Germany. Soon after, toward the end of 1991, the Soviet Union also broke up (Vogt, 2003: 926–7, 940, 944). These far-reaching historical developments of

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course also had a significant impact on the Soviet and East German Institutes for Marxism-Leninism, which were (among other things) responsible for the publication of works by Marx and Engels. With the end of East European communism came a long period of uncertainty for the MEGA2 edition. In order to understand fully what this time of deep-rooted change meant for the planned volume I/5 of MEGA2 (*The German Ideology*), one must take a very brief look at the entire history of the MEGA project after World War II (Rojahn, 1997).

In 1955, ten years after the end of the war, when most of the damage had been repaired, Soviet academics started to think about a continuation of the first *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe*. Almost at the same time, in 1958, the "father of the first MEGA," David Ryazanov, was posthumously rehabilitated by the High Court of the Soviet Union (Rokitjanskij, 1993: 15–6). It seemed as if the publication of MEGA1 could continue from where it had stopped, but then, during their work on the second Russian edition of the Marx-Engels-Works (1955–66), the editors must have realized that newly discovered manuscripts and—more importantly—a change in the general conception of editing works by Marx and Engels would now allow the production of a much more scientific version of the *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe*. The old MEGA1, edited by Ryazanov and Adoratskii between 1927 and 1941, did not meet scientific standards anymore. In October 1965, a joint editorial commission was set up by the Soviet and East German Institutes for Marxism-Leninism in order to discuss the possibility of editing a second edition of MEGA (Dlubek, 1993: 41).

The aforementioned change in the general conception of editing works by Marx and Engels was expressed in the late 1960s for the first time. While in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s any historical-critical edition was seen by the AUCP(b) as an undertaking that would not directly contribute to the necessary promulgation of Marxism among the working class, things were completely different in the late 1960s and thereafter. The ruling communist and workers' parties had already undertaken "the widest activity in circulating popular editions of Marx, Engels and Lenin among the masses," as Adoratskii had demanded in his speech of April 1, 1931 (see chapter 3). The "theoretical weapons of Marxism-Leninism" could not be strengthened any further by mass-printing even more "international-popular editions." In this advanced stage of the development of socialism, Ryazanov's alleged "academicism" was now needed for a more profound dissemination of writings by Marx and Engels (see Adoratskij, 2001: 107–8, 114).

One should not forget that the educational system of states like the Soviet Union and the GDR gave rise to a growing intelligentsia that was not only easily bored with schematic and over-simplistic expositions of Marxism-Leninism, but also needed something to do. A new edition of works by Marx and Engels—even more extensive than the *Marx-Engels-Werke* had ever been—would certainly help to tie down critical intellectuals to a protracted Sisyphean task far away from any day-to-day politics. After all, with the growing intellectual abilities of citizens in socialist states, science and propaganda were not perceived as being so contradictory anymore. The work of scholars, researching every aspect of Marx's and Engels's work, became more and more an integral and legitimized part of the strategy to retain power by the ruling parties.

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As part of the "scientific-technological revolution," which had its origin in the scientific advances of the late 1960s, scientists in general gained a new and more influential position within the Soviet Union, the GDR, and other socialist states. This was of course also true for social scientists (Ehlert et al., 1969: 916–20). In one of the first announcements of the forthcoming second MEGA, "*Über die Vorbereitung einer Historisch-kritischen Gesamtausgabe der Werke von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels (MEGA)*" (On the preparation of a historical-critical complete edition of works by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels [MEGA]), the Soviet and East German editors reminded their readers once again of the fact that both the Russian Marx-Engels-Works and the German *Marx-Engels-Werke* should not be judged as "complete or academic editions" of the writings of the founders of "scientific communism." Instead the editors claimed in 1968 that the new MEGA2 would be of "inestimable value for the theoretical and ideological work of the Marxist-Leninist parties" (IMLSU and IMLSED, 1968: 773, 790).

After the first of more than 100 initially planned volumes of MEGA2 had been published in the autumn of 1975, Rolf Dlubek (1978: 35), scientific staff member of the East German IML, called the work on the *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe* the "most important work of socialist co-operation between social scientists from the USSR and the GDR." And in her 1987 article "*Neue Erkenntnisse der MEGA-Bände I/2 und I/3 und ihre Bedeutung für die Bestimmung von Forschungs- und Editionsaufgaben der Arbeit an dem MEGA-Band I/5 (Marx/Engels: Die deutsche Ideologie)*" (New insights from the MEGA-volumes I/2 and I/3 and their significance for the determination of the research- and editorial tasks of the work on MEGA-volume I/5 [Marx/Engels: The German Ideology]), Taubert (1987: 23) emphasized once more the relationship between the MEGA2 project and the Marxist-Leninist "world view":

> Without doubt the outcome of our MEGA research is that it has become possible to establish the practicality and potential of our worldview more conclusively because with the deciphering, analysis and explanation of concrete-historical circumstances and interconnections it has become possible to illustrate the interaction between political struggles and theoretical developments, on the one hand, and between what is concrete-historical and what is universally applicable on the other hand.

Taubert stressed that without the "concrete-historical element" the "general truths" of Marxism-Leninism would remain "abstract, dogmatic and unfruitful for the creative understanding of the doctrine of Marx and Engels" (24).

Although social scientists, who were working, for example, as editors of what has become known as *The German Ideology*, had their share in raising the quality of the propaganda of the socialist state, they also became increasingly involved with maintaining it. GDR professors like Inge Taubert, Richard Sperl (1929–), Martin Hundt (1932–), Rolf Hecker (1953–), Manfred Neuhaus (1946–) and Rolf Dlubek (1929–) all worked in senior positions at the Institute for Marxism-Leninism under the Central Committee of the SED. They were all members of the SED, and as such they were exponents of the GDR as it existed. Obviously nobody forced them to do the job they did. However, once the tide had turned, and the GDR had become

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history, the most orthodox intellectuals, who had enjoyed a life of privilege under socialism, immediately jumped ship and protested their innocence. In the early 1990s Germans coined the word "*Wendehälse*" (quick-change artists) for people like the aforenamed professors. The only exception was Taubert, who was not willing to take part in the mudslinging that followed.

Whether this section of the East German scientific elite tried to deny their involvement in the propaganda apparatus of the GDR so that they could claim pensions from the capitalist West German state, or whether they simply wanted to become part of the West German scientific community, is unimportant at this point. The fact is that over the following years these professors vied with one another in calumniating their former employer. It all started with Sperl's article "*Zu einigen theoretisch-methodischen Grundsatzfragen der MEGA-Editionsrichtlinien*" (On a few theoretical-methodological key questions of the MEGA-editorial guidelines).

In 1991, Sperl, who had worked for the East German IML for over 30 years, felt obliged to assure the new publisher of MEGA2 (the *Internationale Marx-Engels-Stiftung*, Amsterdam) that future volumes would now be free of any "ideological dogmas." He criticized the "Marxist-Leninist understanding of theory and history" as "exaggerated," "one-sided" and full of "narrow minded assertions." As his personal excuse for having been a Marxist-Leninist, he cited "party-political pressure," which is always a good choice, if one does not want to incriminate former colleagues or even oneself (Sperl, 1991: 161).

Then, in 1992, Hundt published his article "*Gedanken zur bisherigen Geschichte der MEGA*" (Thoughts on the history of MEGA up to now). Hundt emphatically welcomed the "turning point" in history and informed his readers generously about the "most severe inner accusation and self-examination" that he had allegedly experienced before 1989. As an MEGA-editor, he had also supposedly "suffered" from the "incurable conflict" between the "historical-critical textual-work [*Textarbeit*]" and the "demands of the party-leadership to support its propaganda." According to Hundt, nobody was really "aware" of this "incurable conflict" at the time, but then he also claimed that it had robbed him of a lot of "vitality." In future the MEGA2 project should be perceived as purely "academic-critical," which to him was synonymous with "absolutely independent of any special interests whatsoever." However, Hundt must have read the signs of the times, because he then tried to explain to his readers that Marx and Engels themselves had also not published some of their most important writings with "party, but with 'bourgeois' publishing houses" (Hundt, 1992: 57–60).

In 1993, it was Dlubek's turn to ask for indulgence. Very much like all the others, Dlubek also lamented the "ideological indoctrination" under which he and fellow social scientists had supposedly suffered in the "state-socialist countries." In his article "*Tatsachen und Dokumente aus einem unbekannten Abschnitt der Vorgeschichte der MEGA2 (1961–1965)*" (Facts and documents from an unknown part of the prehistory of MEGA2 [1961–1965]), one cannot find a single positive word about what he had described some 15 years before as the "most important work of socialist co-operation between social scientists from the USSR and the GDR" (Dlubek, 1978: 35). Instead, he now underscored his belief that he had observed nothing but

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"scientific incompetence" on the Soviet side. According to Dlubek (1993: 41, 54–6), only after 1989 had it become possible to publish MEGA2 volumes without any "ideological overloading."

During the 1990s, this self-denial gained momentum and turned more and more into a grotesque repetition of West German propaganda about the former socialist countries. The East German professors quickly learned how to make use of certain standard phrases in order to meet the assumed expectations of their West German colleagues. A general trend became visible: at first the complicated and complex history of the "ruling doctrine" in the Soviet Union and the GDR, which had been altered several times by a number of "*Grundlagendebatten*" (debates about fundamental issues) in the 1960s and 1970s (like, e.g., the second "Praxis Discussion" in the GDR), had been completely and unscientifically concealed by stressing only its alleged "pure Stalinist style" (Hecker, 1998: 188; Küttler, 1999: 83).

In a second step, Hecker (1998: 195), who had been working on MEGA2 since the late 1970s, maintained in his English-language article "The MEGA project: An Edition between a Scientific Claim and the Dogmas of Marxism-Leninism" that "the further editing of MEGA [should] not be placed under any party's banner." However, by "party's banner," he certainly did not mean the CPSU or the SED, since both parties did not of course exist anymore in the late 1990s, but meant instead any party committed to working-class emancipation. This becomes clear if one looks at a further article by Hubmann, Münkler, and Neuhaus, written two years later. Here the publishers of MEGA2 asked explicitly for the "depoliticization" of the project. The writings by Marx and Engels should be "received" by readers "freed of any political . . . interests concerning their purpose." Marx's and Engels's writings would then finally become "philosophical classics" just like the ones of Aristotle and Leibniz (Hubmann, Münkler, and Neuhaus, 2001: 299, 303; Bluhm, Band, and Luther, 2003: 84–93).

The conservative camp of the German media reacted very positively to statements like the ones here. This will be thoroughly discussed in connection with the new 2004 edition of *The German Ideology* (see chapter 8). At this point, we would like to render only one example. When the publishers of MEGA2 changed their publishing house, leaving behind the left-wing social democratic Karl Dietz Verlag and signing a new contract with Akademie-Verlag, the upper-class newspaper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* immediately applauded. In his article "*Unter Klassikern*" (Among classical authors), Ulrich Raulff (1950–) (1998: 41) emphasized that now the "last poison fang of party affiliation [*Parteigängertum*] had been pulled out." Finally, he rejoiced, one could find the works of Marx and Engels "in between the extensive editions of Aristotle, Leibniz, Wieland, Forster and Aby Warburg—classical authors among themselves."

Somehow we are reminded of what Marx had to say about the way Hegel was being treated in Germany during the 1860s, given that the 1848 revolution had failed and that reactionaries (with the help of Otto von Bismarck [1815–98]) had taken over in Germany (Streisand, 1970: 204–6). Marx (1962: 27) stressed that it was "the good pleasure of the peevish, arrogant, mediocre" imitators of Hegel, like

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Ludwig Büchner (1824–99), Friedrich Albert Lange (1828–75), Eugen Dühring (1833–1921), and Gustav Theodor Fechner (1801–87), who talk "large in cultured Germany," to "treat Hegel in the same way as the upright Moses Mendelssohn in Lessing's time treated Spinoza, that is, as a "dead dog."'

European and Asian Preparatory Work for Editing Volume I/5 of MEGA2

On February 12, 1990, in the middle of the great upheaval in the eastern part of Germany and in the Soviet Union, an international conference took place in the Studienzentrum Karl-Marx-Haus, Trier (Study-Centre of the Karl-Marx-House, Trier). The sponsor of this conference was the Foreign Ministry of West Germany. Experts from countries such as France, Switzerland, the GDR, and the FRG discussed questions dealing not only with Marx's first sojourn in Paris, but also with what has become known as *The German Ideology*. Taubert, who at the time was working on a new historical-critical edition of *The German Ideology* manuscripts in volume I/5 of MEGA2, gave a very detailed talk on the relationship between Marx and Stirner and the way that relationship is reflected in "*III. Sankt Max*" and other manuscripts of 1845–46. Taubert's contribution to the conference was supplemented later on by another paper on the subject and then published in the form of an article under the title "*Wie entstand die Deutsche Ideologie von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels?: Neue Einsichten, Probleme und Streitpunkte*" (How did the German Ideology by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels come into existence? New insights, problems and points at issue) (Barzen, 1990: 7).

Although Taubert presented all her knowledge of the history of the origins of what is known to us now as *The German Ideology* in about 80 pages, new insights were scarce. The heyday for unveiling the historical background of the 1845–46 manuscripts (1965–80) was long over by 1990. All there was left to do for scholars such as Taubert was to add some minor pieces of information here and there to the already established narrative of historical events. However, several new aspects need to be mentioned.

In accordance with Golowina, Taubert argued that at the end of November or the beginning of December 1845 Marx and Engels started to write a manuscript dealing mainly with Bauer (but also with Feuerbach and Stirner), which was used later on for "*II. Sankt Bruno*" and the so-called Feuerbach-manuscripts (pages 1–29). Taubert (1990), who had thoroughly also examined the crossed-out sections of the text, claimed that this manuscript was certainly meant to be an article. By looking closely at its "subject matter, size and form," it also became possible to contend that this article must have been written particularly for the "planned quarterly" (41). But what about the other critiques by Marx and Engels that should have formed integral parts of the anticipated "first number" of the "planned quarterly"? Here Taubert did not fully agree with Golowina's 1980s assessment.

Taubert maintained that while Marx and Engels were working on their article against Bauer, which also dealt here and there with Feuerbach and Stirner, they must have come up with the idea of writing "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" (1990: 50).

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After Marx and Engels had finished their aforementioned article, they immediately started writing their lengthy critique of Stirner. According to Taubert, this idea to write "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" marked a new stage of the historical origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts. By taking a look at the short introduction to "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," one can see that the two authors wanted to publish something that would contain both a critique of the "holy Bruno" and also of the "holy Max." From a crossed-out sentence at the end of the introduction to "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" one can learn that Marx and Engels might also have thought about adding another critique to "*Sankt Bruno*" and "*Sankt Max*." This third exposition would have dealt with "*Dottore Graziano*," a mock name for Arnold Ruge (see Marx and Engels, 1958: 78–80). However, at this point Marx and Engels had not yet planned to write any independent critiques of the "true socialists" or even of Feuerbach.

Taubert asserted that because Marx and Engels had started to write an anthology "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," it is no longer possible to argue that "*Sankt Bruno*," "*Sankt Max*," and "*Dottore Graziano*" would have simply been separate and independent articles for some kind of a quarterly journal. In contradiction to the hypothesis concerning the project to produce a quarterly put forward by Golowina in 1980, Taubert argued in 1990 that Marx and Engels "might have been thinking about a brochure" at this new stage of their work (48–9). Taubert, who also made use of the newly published MEGA2 volumes, referred to a letter by Ignaz Bürgers to Marx (February 10, 1846), in which Bürgers (1975: 503) wrote explicitly about an "expected brochure." In conclusion Taubert maintained that even if "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" would have been published in some form of journal, it would have been printed as a homogeneous "work" next to other articles by other authors (1990: 49).

However, "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" was never published as such, and so it is more important to analyze the impact that Marx and Engels's critique of Stirner had on their work process in 1845–46. In this case as well, Taubert was able to back up established knowledge with new details about the history of the origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts. According to her analysis, Marx and Engels at first wrote only the aforementioned article against Bauer. Since it dealt partially with Stirner, they arrived at the idea of writing something exclusively on him. After this was achieved, they must have realized that the article on Bauer was not conclusive and detailed enough to become part of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*." Therefore, they returned afresh to Bauer and wrote another manuscript entitled "*I. Sankt Bruno*" (later on changed to "*II. Sankt Bruno*") (see IMES, 2004: 339). For this new manuscript they used large sections from the original article on Bauer et al., which Marx had divided up into several parts dealing with "Feuerbach," "Bauer," "Geschichte," and so on (see chapter 6).

Taubert argued that by looking at the content of the new manuscript "*I. Sankt Bruno*," one can easily see that Marx and Engels were now able to use new insights gained during their work on the critique of Stirner in order to "enrich" their critique of Bauer. While in their short article Marx and Engels had only briefly discussed Bauer's relationship to Stirner, they were now putting much more emphasis on this

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issue. Taubert's expositions illustrate once again how important Marx and Engels's critical examination of Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* was for the entire writing process of what is known to us as *The German Ideology*. Although Marx and Engels started out with an article on Bauer, it was in particular the critique of Stirner that became the basis not only for "*Sankt Bruno*," but—more importantly—for most of the so-called manuscripts on Feuerbach. In conclusion, it must be stressed that there can be no understanding of "*Sankt Bruno*" and the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts if one fails to study "*Sankt Max*" first.

It is quite conspicuous that Taubert's 1990 article, written just as East European communism was ending, highlighted the significance of Stirner for Marx's and Engels's intellectual development. Never before had this been done by an academic from the GDR in such an open and unambiguous manner. Taubert (1990: 55) even called Wolfgang Eßbach's 1982 West German publication "*Gegenzüge: Der Materialismus des Selbst und seine Ausgrenzung aus dem Marxismus—eine Studie über die Kontroverse zwischen Max Stirner und Karl Marx*" (Countermoves: the materialism of the self and its exclusion from Marxism—a study of the controversy between Max Stirner and Karl Marx) a "remarkable study." Eßbach (1944–) had been one of the first Western scholars to argue that Mehring's negative impression of the scientific value of "*Sankt Max*" was false. Furthermore, in his book, Eßbach (1982: 5, 9) particularly attacked Cornu by characterizing him as one of the contemporary supporters of Mehring's misjudgment.

Taubert (1990: 57) emphasized that her work on the printer's "fair copy" of "*Sankt Max*," which she needed to do in connection with the publication of volume I/5 of MEGA2, had already exposed "deficits in Marx/Engels-research." These "deficits" were not only observed by Taubert, but almost simultaneously also by Japanese and South Korean scholars, who cautiously started to look at the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts from a different angle. However, no one was as yet fully aware of the fact that a new perspective would not only lead to an overdue revaluation of "*II. Sankt Bruno*" and "*III. Sankt Max*," but would also have a significant impact on the history of the editions of *The German Ideology*. Neither Western nor Eastern editors were as yet ready to draw the inevitable conclusions from work that had occupied them for the best part of the twentieth century.

As an example of how these "deficits" were also acknowledged by Asian scholars, we cite Tadashi Shibuya's 1996 German-language article *"Probleme der Edition der 'Deutschen Ideologie'"* (Problems of the edition of the "German Ideology"). In his article, Shibuya criticized the editorial work of editors such as Ryazanov (1926), Adoratskii (1932), and Taubert (1972), and put forward his own "suggestions for a new edition of the 'German Ideology.'" Apart from several very positive ideas about rendering the texts in an improved way, he also proved to his readers that Japanese scholars had become, just like Taubert, increasingly aware of the inseparable link between the so-called main manuscript and the other critiques of Bauer and Stirner written by Marx and Engels in 1845–46. Shibuya (1996) proposed that a future edition of "*I. Feuerbach*" should not render the "longer deletions" (*längere Tilgungen*) in the *apparatus criticus*, but in the text itself. These "deletions," which were either

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used later for "*II. Sankt Bruno*" or represented simply "deletions" from "*III. Sankt Max*," would be important for understanding the inseparable connection between the "first chapter" and the "chapters" "*Sankt Bruno*" and "*Sankt Max*" (116).

In 1998, Moon-Gil Chung, a South Korean scholar, picked up the issue of interpreting the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts in their original context. In his German-language article *"Einige Probleme der Textedition der Deutschen Ideologie, insbesondere in Hinsicht auf die Wiedergabe des Kapitels 'I. Feuerbach'"* (A few problems concerning the editing of the German Ideology, especially in regard to the rendition of Chapter "I. Feuerbach") Chung correctly summarized the insights that scholars had gained by looking at the content of previously published editions. He stressed that academics had become more and more aware that the "theories and presentations" rendered by Marx and Engels in the so-called Feuerbach chapter are often "unsystematic and fragmentary." Furthermore, he emphasized that the "different parts of the [Feuerbach] manuscript" could be brought into a "systematic relationship" only with difficulty because of their "textual non-correspondence" (*inhaltliche Nichtübereinstimmung*) (Chung, 1998: 35).

After all, not even the Asian academics were able to leave behind the idea of constructing some form of "Feuerbach chapter." As much as they emphasized the importance of rendering the "seven parts" of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts in strict chronological order, they still aimed to keep them together as a solid block (see Chung, 1998: 54–5). This is even more surprising because scholars such as Shibuya (1996: 116) and Chung (1998: 37–8) were of course very well aware of the historical origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts. The demand for chronology, which had clearly superseded Adoratskii's 1932 "logical" arrangement of the manuscripts, had thus still not been extended to the entire body of what is known to us now as *The German Ideology*.

Since we will be discussing this recoil of Eastern and Western scholars from their own scientific advances in chapter 8, where we examine the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition of *The German Ideology* manuscripts, there is no need to look at any Japanese editions in this regard. Both the 1974 Hiromatsu edition and the 1998 Shibuya edition of the so-called first chapter are completely useless when it comes to representing the chronology of the 1845–46 manuscripts.

Asian Scholars and the Question of Authorship

As already mentioned in our first chapter, there are three questions that accompanied the political history of editions of *The German Ideology* from the very beginning of this history in the early 1920s. One of these questions is whether Marx and Engels speak in a single voice, and if there are therefore no intellectual or ideological differences between them (see chapter 1). In his 1921 edition of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," Mayer argued that this particular manuscript was written mainly by Engels and that Marx had only made some minor corrections later on. As outlined in chapter 2, Mayer (1971: 776–7), who was an expert on Engels, was convinced that he could detect Engels's "brighter voice" more clearly in "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" than Marx's

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"sonorous bass." And in 1926, Ryazanov made the effort to differentiate clearly in his *Marx-Engels-Archiv* edition of "*I. Feuerbach*" between words and sentences that had been written by Engels and words and sentences that had been written (often added) by Marx later on (see Marx and Engels, 1926a: 233–306).

However, although the question of authorship had been raised as early as the 1920s, and although even the MEGA1 edition of *The German Ideology* (1932) had provided all the information for distinguishing between Marx's and Engels's handwritings, scholars had not been eager to conduct further research on this crucial topic. In 1998, Chung claimed that this was mainly due to the "dominance of dogmatic theories of Marxism" in the socialist countries, and he pointed in particular to Ryazanov, who was one of the first scholars to depict Marx and Engels as a single author. For over 40 years Marx and Engels had been perceived as speaking with a single voice (see Carver, 1996a). According to Chung, it was only due to new editions of *The German Ideology*, published in the middle of the 1960s, that a renewed discussion about the "respective parts" that Marx and Engels had played in writing the 1845–46 manuscripts had been triggered. Chung (1998: 35) maintained that this "new attempt" to find out whether it was Marx or Engels who had had the bigger share in discovering the "materialist theory of history" had its origin in Japan.

In his 1998 article, Chung (1998) argued that one could observe great differences of opinion among the few academics studying the work process of Marx and Engels in *The German Ideology*. On the one hand, there are those scholars who talk about "Engels merely taking dictation," and on the other hand, there are those who refer to "Engels's leading role" (39). Chung stressed that it was in particular Wataru Hiromatsu (1933–94) who had declared that *The German Ideology* was authored by Engels alone. Hiromatsu maintained that the role of Engels had been greatly underestimated, and, according to Chung, he even went so far as to say that the "materialist conception of history in [the] chapter 'I. Feuerbach' " had been "contributed" solely by Engels. Hiromatsu argued that only under the influence of Engels had Marx transformed his "theory of alienation" into a "theory of reification" (*Verdinglichungstheorie*). If one is to believe Chung's account (1998: 41), these assertions by Hiromatsu had not only sparked a discussion among Japanese scholars about the "respective parts" that Marx and Engels had played in writing the 1845–46 manuscripts, but had also led to the publication of several new editions of the so-called first chapter of *The German Ideology*.

One of these Japanese editions was the 1974 Hiromatsu edition already mentioned. As the last German-language edition of the so-called Feuerbach-manuscripts to be published before the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition, it is of particular importance. Although Hiromatsu had once again constructed a smooth chapter "I. Feuerbach," which means that he must have deliberately ignored all the new and important insights into the history of the origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts, he was the first since 1926 to present all the text variants within the text itself. Without having to consult a separate *apparatus criticus*, the Hiromatsu edition gave readers a chance to witness at first sight exactly which corrections and improvements had

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been made by Engels and which had been made by Marx (see Marx and Engels, 1974: 1–159).

Hiromatsu aimed to publish every single page of the 1845–46 manuscripts as true to the original as possible. In order to do so, he decided to reproduce every new page of handwriting on a new page of his edition. Furthermore, everything that had been written by Marx and Engels on the left-hand side of the printer's sheets was printed in the Hiromatsu edition on the verso leaves, while everything that had been written on the right-hand side of the printer's sheets was printed on the rectos. Marx's text additions and all his important remarks on the margins of the manuscript fragments were set in bold so that an easy distinction between his written contributions and Engels's became possible. However, this method of editing did not in any case answer the question whether Marx had dictated to Engels, or whether Engels had written everything down by himself and Marx had then only corrected some sentences later on.

Hiromatsu's edition reproduced the so-called *Textbefund* ("text findings") as close to the original handwritten text as one could get without having to resort to a nearly unintelligible facsimile edition. This was a great scientific achievement, and although the editors of MEGA2 did not adopt Hiromatsu's method, which would have made any *apparatus criticus* redundant, they paid ample tribute to him. In 2004, the editors of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition of *The German Ideology* stressed the "scientific-editorial value" of the 1974 Hiromatsu edition. According to Taubert and Pelger, who were the two main editors working on volume I/5 of MEGA2 at the time, Hiromatsu's "scientific-editorial achievement in the history of editing 'I. Feuerbach' will be lasting" (IMES, 2004: 19*).

Unfortunately, the 1974 edition received only very limited attention from scholars outside Japan. This is even more surprising, if one keeps in mind that the "historical-critical" 1972 MEGA2 "*Probeband*" edition had been available only to a selected group of reviewers. However, some Western scholars did take notice. Among them, for example, was Carver, who in 1986 had been given a copy of the Hiromatsu edition by his Japanese colleague Hiroshi Uchida (1939–) (2003), and shortly after, in 1988, cited it in his *History of Political Thought* article "Communism for Critical Critics? *The German Ideology* and the Problem of Technology." In his article, Carver (1988: 134) made use of Hiromatsu's unique text rendition, and, furthermore, explained to his readers why the Hiromatsu edition "puts one of the most famous passages in all Marx's work in quite a new light." I will come back to the important results of Carver's 1988 research in my final chapter.

Apart from its very positive aspects, the Hiromatsu edition, just like any other hitherto published edition in the long history of the editions of *The German Ideology*, had its flaws. Besides presenting yet another constructed chapter "*I. Feuerbach*," Hiromatsu had also updated the spelling and had added commas and other punctuation marks where he thought they would fit. However, there was a much bigger problem with Hiromatsu's 1974 edition. Although Hiromatsu had provided the results of more recent and accurate deciphering of the handwriting in many footnotes, the main body of the text still rendered most of the text variants by Marx

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and Engels according to the long outdated MEGA1 edition of 1932 (Shibuya, 1996: 115; Tairako, 2006). One should not forget that the 1932 editors did not have any access to the original manuscripts and, therefore had to rely for the most part on photographs taken in the 1920s.

In 2002, Nanjing University Press republished the 1974 Hiromatsu edition in a Chinese translation. By doing so the editors offered Chinese scholars with an interest in the eventful history of editions of *The German Ideology* the possibility of thoroughly familiarizing themselves with this fascinating testimonial from the past (see Hiromatsu, 2002a). Nevertheless, much time had gone by since 1974, and meanwhile further editions of *The German Ideology* had been published in Japan. Besides the 1996 Hattori edition and the 2002 Kobayashi edition, there was also the 1998 Shibuya edition (Chung, 2002: 286; Hattori, 1996; Hiromatsu, 2002b). Here we would like to dwell in particular on the 1998 Shibuya edition, because its editor later on claimed in 2006 that it offers some new answers to the question of authorship (see Shibuya, 1998; 2006: 193).

The 1998 Shibuya edition of yet another very creatively constructed chapter "*I. Feuerbach*" was introduced to the German-speaking part of the scientific community by Chung in 2002. In his article "*Zur Neuausgabe der Deutschen Ideologie in Japan*" (On the new publication of the German Ideology in Japan), Chung stressed that Shibuya had spent about ten months studying the original handwriting. As a result, Shibuya had produced a whole new reading of the German-language manuscripts and therefore a new Japanese-language translation. Just like Hiromatsu, Shibuya also presented everything that had been written by Marx and Engels on the left-hand side of the printer's sheets on the verso leaves of his book, and everything that had been written on the right-hand side of the printer's sheets on the rectos. Thus, once again, Marx's and Engels's handwriting were made clearly distinguishable by using different typefaces (Chung, 2002: 289; Carver, 2006: 6).

Chung argued that the merit of the 1998 Shibuya edition was not in its arrangement of the 1845–46 manuscripts. Information concerning the chronological sequence in which the fragments had been written could only be found in the commentary. However, according to Chung, the Shibuya edition could still be characterized as a "representative example, which shows what Japanese scholars actually expect from . . . MEGA2." The 1998 edition would be a "very concrete expression of the Japanese scientific scene" that aimed at "influencing the future specification of the editorial procedures of MEGA2 I/5." Chung stressed emphatically that only the 1998 Japanese-language edition would allow the reader to get a "complete picture" of how Marx and Engels had collaborated in writing *The German Ideology*. The faithful reproduction of every single sentence would provide new answers to the question of authorship, and the chronological ordering of the manuscripts would recede as an issue.

In his 2002 article Chung not only failed to provide convincing evidence as to how the work of Shibuya had contributed to the discussion about authorship, but also admitted that he had got "heavily confused" when confronted with all the "larger and smaller type sizes, different typefaces and also with a huge number

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of diacritical marks for the complicated changes, omissions, insertions, additions and excursuses" (288–90). Of course, this negative undertone in Chung's book review must have angered Shibuya, and in 2006 he decided to take things into his own hands. In his article "Editorial Problems in establishing a new Edition of *The German Ideology*," published in the English-language anthology *Marx for the 21st Century* (edited by Uchida), Shibuya tried to justify his 1998 edition.

After Shibuya had quoted a short passage from the verso leaves of his edition, in which one can find a rare example of Marx's handwriting directly inserted in sentences written down by Engels, Shibuya (2006: 199) came up with the following conclusion:

> In this passage, Marx's sentences were not written between the lines or in the margin, but in the left column. Therefore, Marx, too, was present while Engels was writing the first draft on that occasion. Marx added sentences which he thought necessary while Engels was writing; while Engels was writing the first draft, Marx stopped him and amplified his point by inserting the sentences beginning with the words "For instance." Engels then completed the passage, having stopped Marx. In this particular case, Marx and Engels were co-operating in writing the first draft of *The German Ideology*.

In his 2006 article Shibuya tried most of all to neutralize Hiromatsu's hypothesis that Engels must be seen as the main author of what has become known as *The German Ideology* (see Chung, 1998: 41). However, his argumentation also implied a very strong criticism of anyone who would go so far as to claim that Marx's many corrections, which can be found "between the lines or in the margin," could be interpreted as Marx's criticism of Engels alone (rather than an amendment to a jointly conceived original text). If Marx and Engels were both working on *The German Ideology* at the same time, as Shibuya maintained, then one must interpret Marx's corrections of the text as a criticism of both Engels's and his own ideas. But how can this be? Marx made these corrections not only after the main text had been set down in the left-hand columns of the printer's sheets, but—more importantly—after he (and probably also Engels) had gained new insights by working on other parts of *The German Ideology* manuscripts, in particular on the critique of Stirner.

Is there any other evidence besides the instance rendered by Shibuya in 2006 (which, by the way, had already been pointed out exactly 80 years earlier by Ryazanov), which would substantiate the theory that Marx and Engels wrote at least parts of the 1845–46 manuscripts in close co-operation (see Rjazanov, 1926: 261)?

First, there is the letter by Harney to Engels, already mentioned, of March 30, 1846. Here, Harney wrote: "I informed my wife of your very philosophical system of writing in couples till 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning." At the end of the letter Harney also sent his regards particularly to Marx, whom he knew personally from Marx's and Engels's joint visit to London in the middle of August 1845 (IMLSED, 1957: 693). It is very likely that by referring to "your very philosophical system of writing in couples," Harney (1975: 523–7) meant Marx and Engels.

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Second, there is the letter from Engels to Laura Lafargue (one of Marx's daughters) that Engels sent shortly after Marx's death (March 14, 1883), on June 2. In his letter, Engels wrote that "among Mohr's [literally 'Moor' or 'Dark One' = Marx's nickname] papers" he had found "a whole lot of mss, our common work, of before 1848." Furthermore, he told Lafargue that he had read some of the manuscripts, which were of course full of sarcasm, to Helene Demuth (1823–90), the former maid of Jenny (1814–81), and Karl Marx. Demuth, who had moved into Engels's household after Marx's death, had then, according to Engels, replied: "Now I know why you two were laughing so hard at night back then in Brussels so that no one in the house could get any sleep" (Engels, 1967: 34).

In 1998, Chung argued that particularly in the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts one could observe not only "inconsistencies in the exposition and repetition in the argumentation," but furthermore several "central terms" did not "correspond" to each other and "contradictory assertions" could be found in close "connection" (36). However, if these "contradictions and inconsistencies" that had also been pointed out by Koltan in his *Die Konzeption der Geschichte in der "Deutschen Ideologie" von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* are not primarily due to the fact that "two authors had taken part in the writing," then one has to look for other plausible explanations. One of them was put forward by Koltan in 1995. In some of his writings, Koltan harshly criticized the "basic dogma" (*Grunddogma*) of "orthodox communism," which, according to him, could be seen in the propagation of a "holy two-in-one [*Zweieinigkeit*] between Marx and Engels." So Koltan (2002: 137–9) was very supportive of editions like the 1974 Hiromatsu edition. However, in the case of what is known to us as *The German Ideology*, he emphasized that Marx and Engels had indeed worked "collectively."

At the beginning Koltan had also assumed that the observed "contradictions and inconsistencies" were due to "contradictions between Marx and Engels." According to him, this hypothesis proved to be "completely wrong" as soon as he had conducted further research. As a result of his studies Koltan claimed that Marx had revised the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts months after he and Engels had finished writing most of what was later entitled *The German Ideology*. Therefore Marx would have gained new knowledge in the meantime, which he then wanted to work into the manuscripts that had been produced by Engels and himself throughout the winter. Whether these corrections by Marx were made after Engels had left for Paris (middle of August 1846), as Koltan (1995: 5, 52) suggested, or, which is more likely, sometime before Engels's departure, is of minor importance at this point.

The main thing is that Koltan realized the significance of the history of the origins of the 1845–46 manuscripts for understanding the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts. If it is true that Marx and Engels wrote the extensive critique "*III. Sankt Max*" before they actually produced "*II. Sankt Bruno*," then it is also very likely that Marx made use of his new insights for revising those manuscripts (the draft article against Bauer), of which he and Engels later on used some parts for "*II. Sankt Bruno*" (see Taubert, 1990: 59). In order fully to understand those corrections by Marx, where he amends his and Engels's earlier exposition, one must take the chronological

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order of all the manuscripts into account. The intellectual development of Marx and Engels in the winter and spring of 1845/46 is the key to any "historical-critical" explanation of the existing "contradictions and inconsistencies" in the so-called first chapter of what has become known as *The German Ideology*.

The 1996 "Special Conference" on the Constitution of *The German Ideology*

In the autumn of 1996, the Karl-Marx-Haus, Trier, once again invited a "small circle" of no more than 12 specialists from Germany, Russia, South Korea, France, and Japan to meet together in Marx's native town in order to advise on the forthcoming publication of volume I/5 of MEGA2 (DFMA, 1998: 3). This "Trier Council" was supposedly necessary because of the particular importance of the 1845–46 manuscripts for the entire edition of the new *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe*. Right at the beginning of the "special conference," Hermann Klenner (1926–) emphasized his belief that volume I/5 must be seen as a "key volume" of MEGA2 and the standard according to which the quality of the whole project of publishing the writings of Marx and Engels in a historical-critical fashion would be judged (Rojahn, 1998b: 148).

One can assume that at least some of the participants, such as Georgii Bagaturiya, Moon-Gil Chung, Jacques Grandjonc (1933–2000), Hans Pelger, Jürgen Rojahn, and Tadashi Shibuya, had a rough idea of the complicated political history of previous editions of *The German Ideology*. Anyone who compares only a few of the hitherto published editions of the 1845–46 manuscripts with one another can easily see that the grave divergences between these editions do not stem simply from the application of different ahistorical methods of editing. As discussed in the Methodological Excursus to this volume, it is necessary to uncover the link between an edition and the specific historical situation under which it was prepared by the editor. With his or her publication the editor actively wants to express something that is related to the current historical situation. Thus any editor strives to publish what has become known as *The German Ideology* in such a way that his or her edition serves as a means of conveying the editor's political and other message to his or her readers.

This of course cannot be done without an interpretation of the 1845–46 manuscripts themselves. However, it is not surprising that in the political climate of the mid-1990s, when the "depoliticization" of the editorial work on what is known to us as *The German Ideology* was proclaimed, some editors thought that "neutrality" and "objectivity" could be achieved by clearly separating the interpretation of the manuscripts from the process of editing them. As an example of this attempt to turn the editorial work on the 1845–46 manuscripts into something that should not be altered by something as profane and petty as personal interpretation and political intention, one could quote from the opening statement that Pelger, the host of the 1996 conference, had made. Pelger (1998b: 148) reminded his colleagues emphatically that "the following [discussion] must not deal with questions of text interpretation and text reception, but exclusively with questions concerning the text edition."

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However, just as Marx and Engels in 1845–46 described "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" as a "council of church elders," the 1996 "Trier Council" became the scene for highly opinionated attitudes as soon as some of the more "sacred truths" established in over 75 years of editing what has become known as *The German Ideology* were under discussion (Marx and Engels, 1968f: 97). Although any suggestion of personal interpretation and political intention had to be disguised by the new "church elders" as an irrefutable and absolute (scientific) truth, the deep-rooted political conflicts, which had accompanied the political history of editions from the very beginning, were still shining through. As a result, Pelger's request that the participants should concentrate solely on questions concerning the text edition was mostly ignored. In the following discussion, we provide a short account of the overriding controversies. As an explanation of why this is worthwhile, let us consider a quote from Marx and Engels's introduction to "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" (1968f: 97): "As these elders are the last examples of their kind, and as here, it is to be hoped, the cause of the Most High, alias the Absolute, is being pleaded for the last time, it is worthwhile taking a verbatim report of the proceedings." Once the initial politeness had receded, the scholars made considerable efforts not to reach any workable agreement on how finally to edit volume I/5 of MEGA2. The first question under discussion dealt with the content of the new volume. In order to define exactly which pieces of writing by Marx and Engels (and possibly also by Hess) should be included in the "thematic volume" I/5, they had to start by naming the first and also the last manuscript that could be considered as a part of what is known to us now as *The German Ideology*. Here the participants of the "special conference" had two competing ideas.

On the one hand, there were those scholars, like Chung, who opted for a more "traditional" narrow timeframe, comprising everything that had been written by Marx and Engels between November 1845 and August 1846 (ten months). This time span would include all those writings that were previously named as *The German Ideology*. Scholars supporting this minimalist option referred to Marx's letter to Leske (August 1, 1846), in which Marx wrote about a two-volume publication (see Marx, 1965a: 448). By overemphasizing Marx's plans dating from the summer of 1846, it becomes possible to come up with the old-fashioned idea that a two-volume book entitled *The German Ideology* must be more or less "reproduced" in volume I/5 of MEGA2.

On the other hand there were scholars, like Bagaturiya, who wanted to include all the alleged "preparatory writings," such as the "Theses on Feuerbach." Furthermore, Engels's "epilogue" on "*Die wahren Sozialisten*" should also be added to volume I/5 of MEGA2 (see Taubert and Dietzen, 2002). This extended timeframe would then stretch from the spring of 1845 to the spring of 1847 (24 months). Although the maximalist option would definitely put an end to all presumptive plans for constructing a two-volume book that had simply never existed, it was also built on false assumptions. Bagaturiya, for example, maintained that Marx and Engels had allegedly "started thinking about the "German Ideology" as early as the spring of 1845." As we have shown in particular in chapter 4, this was certainly not the case.

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The second option, covering a time span of about 24 months, is truer to the state in which the 1845–46 manuscripts were "discovered" by Mayer and Ryazanov. Bagaturiya correctly argued that *The German Ideology* manuscripts should not be perceived as something static in terms of content. Instead one could observe a development of ideas (Rojahn, 1998b: 147–52). However, none of the "church elders" attending the 1996 "special conference" dared to question the antiquated axiom of producing what is called a "thematic volume" (*thematischer Band*). Rojahn explicitly summed up the outcome of the conference by saying that "the decision to plan volume I/5 of MEGA2 as a thematic volume had not been questioned" (152).

But what exactly is a "thematic volume"? For the scholars supporting the minimalist option "thematic," as Pelger (1998b: 152) explained, meant that "one takes the will of the authors into consideration, follows the plan of the book [*sic*], or more precisely: follows the print version of [this two-volume plan of] the summer of 1846" (see chapter 6). For the participants supporting the maximalist option "thematic," as Eßbach (1998b: 154) argued, meant including all the manuscripts that one could print under the overall title "Manuscripts on the 'German Ideology.' "

Both the minimalist and the maximalist options for a "thematic volume" were based solely on the editors' interpretation. While some of the scholars still wanted to construct a book called *The German Ideology*, others wanted to construct a book called "Manuscripts on the 'German Ideology.' " But who is to judge what is actually part of *The German Ideology*? If, for example, Marx and Engels did not plan to write a book by the name of *The German Ideology* in the spring of 1845, and furthermore if they did not anticipate any "chapter '*I. Feuerbach*' " in the winter of 1845/46, then how can Bagaturiya maintain that the "Theses on Feuerbach" (spring of 1845) form not only a "rough outline" for *The German Ideology*, but are a "direct preparatory work" for the "chapter '*I. Feuerbach*' "? And would it not also be plausible to argue on those grounds that all of the 1845–46 manuscripts are nothing but "preparatory work" for Marx's published (!) book *Misère de la philosophie* (1847)?

None of the scholars was able to leave the idea of constructing a "thematic volume" behind. However, there was absolutely no need to produce a "thematic" selection of writings by Marx and Engels in the case of MEGA2, simply because MEGA2 is a "complete edition," and all of the authors' manuscripts will be printed within this edition anyway. Whether the manuscripts supposedly forming *The German Ideology* would be presented in a single volume (I/5) or in three volumes (I/4–I/6) should not have been of any concern to the editors. It would then be up to the empowered reader to decide all by him- or herself how many and which of the different manuscripts belong "thematically" together or not. The only reason for restricting the size of volume I/5 of MEGA2 lies in its weight. If a book is too heavy, it becomes unwieldy.

The second question concerned the role of Hess in the process of writing what has become known to us as *The German Ideology*. In the second half of the 1980s there was an ever increasing interest in this very topic, which was also reflected in a series of three articles.

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The first one was published by Rokityanskii in 1986. In his article "*Zur Geschichte der Beziehungen von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels zu Moses Heß in Brüssel 1845/1846*" (Concerning the history of the relationship of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to Moses Hess in Brussels 1845/1846), Rokityanskii paid tribute to the hypothesis put forward by Golowina in 1980 that "the manuscripts of the 'German Ideology' had originally been intended for a quarterly journal." Rokityanskii (1986: 229) argued that only "in the framework of such a journal" were Marx and Engels ready to collaborate with a "true socialist" like Hess.

The second one, entitled "*Zur Mitarbeit von Moses Heß an der 'Deutschen Ideologie'—die Auseinandersetzung mit Arnold Ruges Werk 'Zwei Jahre in Paris. Studien und Erinnerungen,' Leipzig 1846*" (Concerning the collaboration of Moses Heß on the "German Ideology"—the examination of Arnold Ruge's work "Two Years in Paris. Studies and Reminiscences" Leipzig 1846), was published by Taubert in 1989. Taubert claimed that Hess should not be seen as merely one of many contributors to a quarterly journal, but as one of the three authors of (the supposed two-volume book) *The German Ideology*. According to Taubert, Hess wrote his polemic against Ruge (known as "*Dottore Graziano*") as part of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*." The manuscript "*Dottore Graziano*" was lost later on, but it is believed that Hess's 1847 article "*Dottore Graziano's Werke*" (Dottore Graziano's works) is more or less identical with it. Taubert suggested that Hess's 1847 article should be printed in the appendix to volume I/5 of MEGA2, because she was convinced that Marx was directly involved in the process of writing it (Taubert, 1989a: 154–9).

The third article "*Zur Mitarbeit von Moses Heß an der 'Deutschen Ideologie'—das Kapitel V des zweiten Bandes*" (Concerning the collaboration of Moses Hess on the "German Ideology"—Chapter V of the second volume"), which deals with Hess's work "'*Der Dr. Georg Kuhlmann aus Holstein' oder Die Prophetie des wahren Sozialismus*," was written by Christine Ikker and also published in 1989. In her article, Ikker stressed that since the critique "*Dr. Georg Kuhlmann*" was written down solely by Hess (and then copied by Weydemeyer and edited by Marx and Engels) it should not be printed as part of *The German Ideology* anymore. In contrast to earlier editions of *The German Ideology* Hess's critique should therefore only be rendered in the appendix to volume I/5 of MEGA2 (186–7).

On the basis of the aforementioned articles, it was Eßbach who argued that "in the summer of 1846 there had not been an author-duo, but a—quite balanced—author-trio." However, this assessment then led some of the participants in the 1996 "special conference" to the conclusion that the writings authored by Hess should after all be printed as part of the "main body" of Marx and Engels's (supposed "book") *The German Ideology*. Since this was certainly not the intention of Rokityanskii, Taubert, and Ikker, and since this would also mean that the editors would once again aim at constructing a book that had never existed, albeit with different authors, the conservative undertone of the 1996 conference became clearly perceptible. Also in this case most of the scholars were not ready to accept the fact that Marx's idea of publishing the manuscripts in two separate volumes was nothing but a transitional stage in a long series of developments. However, the force of

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attraction of finishing the work that the two authors had not finished in the summer of 1846 must have been so intense that Klenner openly admitted that the insertion of Hess's texts into the "main body" of *The German Ideology* would be worth a "violation of the editorial guidelines" (Rojahn, 1998b: 153–4).

In conclusion one must say that it was mainly Bagaturiya who tried to preserve the conservative trend in the political history of editing what is known to us as *The German Ideology*. Confronted with the idea of finding a title for volume I/5 that "makes the reader sensitive to existing problems," as Rojahn suggested, Bagaturiya stressed emphatically that the title page should read only "*Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: Die Deutsche Ideologie*." And although Bagaturiya initially supported the maximalist approach, which ultimately questions the existence of any work under the title *The German Ideology*, he now underscored his firm belief that "the 'German Ideology' is not a phantom."

In a last attempt to make at least some progress, Chung then drew the attention of his fellow scholars to the work of Shibuya and proposed printing the handwriting of Marx and Engels in different typefaces (see Taubert, Pelger, and Grandjonc, 1998b: 170). In this case Bagaturiya also did his best to rebuff any innovative editing methods. He informed his colleagues that "one should not exaggerate: Marx and Engels did work on the same table; most of it had been dictated by Marx, and Engels was writing."

At the end of the "special conference" Grandjonc thanked all the participants for the "undogmatic" atmosphere (Rojahn, 1998b: 154–6).

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Chapter Eight

The *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* Edition of *The German Ideology*

The "Post-ideological" Editorial in the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*

In July 2004, a new publication of writings by Marx and Engels appeared in the German charts for nonfiction books (*Sachbuchbestenliste*). Reaching tenth place, attracting almost a dozen, mostly positive reviews in less than three months after its publication in April 2004, the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* introduced some of the most fascinating writings by Marx and Engels to the audience of the new millennium (Hubmann, 2005: 5). The first volume of this yearbook, very much like the first "*Probeband*" of MEGA2 (1972), featured important manuscripts taken from what has become known as *The German Ideology*. The decision by the editors to dedicate the first volume of the newly relaunched yearbook entirely to the 1845–46 manuscripts emphasizes once more the significance of these particular writings.

The *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*, according to its editors Taubert and Pelger, is a prepublication (*Vorabpublikation*) of a group of manuscripts mainly on Feuerbach (so they said), which will, according to their plans, later on be included in volume 5 of the first division of MEGA2 (vol. I/5 of MEGA2) (IMES, 2004: 5*). By allowing the interested public to examine these prepublication results of many years of scientific research, the yearbook claims to follow a long tradition that had started in the 1920s with publications by Ryazanov. Very much like the publishers of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*, Ryazanov had used the first volume of his *Marx-Engels-Archiv* as a medium for the advance publication of "*I. Feuerbach*." The "Editorial" of the 2003 yearbook, written by Herfried Münkler (1951–) and Gerald Hubmann (1962–), refers explicitly to this tradition, but the authors are mistaken about the actual starting point. The famous first volume of the *Marx-Engels-Archiv* was published in 1926, and not in 1928 as claimed in the "Editorial" (see chapter 3; Münkler and Hubmann, 2004: 1*).

The authors of the "Editorial" were not involved or were involved only indirectly in the preparation of this edition of *The German Ideology*. Münkler was a member of the management committee (*Vorstand*) of the Internationale Marx-Engels-Stiftung,

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Amsterdam, and as such was not a part of the editorial team, and Hubmann, who was working for the *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences), was responsible for editing the yearbook 2003, but not the texts themselves. According to a short note on the title page of the yearbook, he was only "assisting" (*unter Mitwirkung*) the editorial work of Taubert and Pelger (IMES, 2004: III). The latter two, therefore, were the main editors of the 2004 edition of *The German Ideology* in this publication.

After reflection it becomes obvious that the "Editorial" is not an editorial by the editors of the texts, but by the publishers of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch* 2003. This sheds a different light on the ends to which the "Editorial" was directed. The "Editorial" comprised not more than three pages, but it was designed to serve as the political introduction to everything that was subsequently printed. And in fact, one of the things that followed the "Editorial" was a very pertinent and subject-orientated "*Einführung*" (Introduction) written by the real editors Taubert and Pelger, stretching over 24 pages.

What were the expressed political aims of the short "Editorial" by Münkler and Hubmann? Two such aims can be found in the text.

First, Münkler and Hubmann made it very clear to their readers, especially to those readers who sometimes read only the first few pages of a book (like booksellers, customers in a bookstore, journalists, and sponsors of the MEGA2 project), that there is no connection whatsoever between the new *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch* and so-called Marxism-Leninism or any other form of Marxism. Furthermore, they also stated that there is no connection between the new *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch* and the history of the working-class movement in the former USSR or East Germany. Not even an intellectual link to today's workers' movement was mentioned. This denial of the very roots of their own MEGA2 project was expressed by describing the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch* as a "fresh start."

Münkler and Hubmann further emphasized the political break that their publication was making with the emancipatory aims of the workers' movement by stressing the contrasting political imperative that Marx-Engels editions should only be guided by the objective and impartial "autonomy of scientific ends." Thus, they blamed the old *Marx-Engels-Jahrbücher* [plural], published in East Berlin and Moscow between 1978 and 1991, for being "ideological" simply because they reflected, very much like the "Editorial" by Münkler and Hubmann, a certain political view. The old yearbooks, according to Münkler and Hubmann, aimed at the "dissemination of Marxism." In contrast, the authors of the "Editorial" pointed out that Ryazanov had done the right thing when he had declared that his 1926 *Marx-Engels-Archiv* would refrain from printing anything related to the vital interests of the working-class movement of his time (see Rjazanov, 1926b: 1–2).

Second, the authors of the "Editorial" defined who should be the addressees of the 2004 edition of *The German Ideology*: it should serve scientific and academic purposes, and therefore the addressees would be scholars and scientists, or, as Engels put it, "the 'learned' world" only (Münkler and Hubmann, 2004: 1*–4*; Engels, 1962b: 212).

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In order to make sure that not even the scientific or "learned" elite to which this 2004 edition was dedicated would read the 1845–46 manuscripts from a progressive or left-wing perspective, Münkler and Hubmann also introduced their theory about the "post-ideological age" (*nachideologisches Zeitalter*). The authors of the "Editorial" claimed that after the end of East European communism today's societies had entered a "post-ideological age." Consequently, ideologies are nowadays allegedly nonexistent or don't play any role in the capitalist societies of the twenty-first century anymore. Whether this theory is scientifically correct or not will not be discussed here, and it is in fact unimportant for this research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*. It is only the political aim behind the assertion that ideologies do not exist or matter anymore that must be investigated.

The 1845–46 manuscripts by Marx and Engels deal throughout with the historical development of ideologies. Marx and Engels were trying to explain when, where, why and how ideologies come into existence. They claimed, as outlined in the Methodological Excursus to this volume, that ideologies are most likely to exist wherever there is some form of division of labor between brainworkers and manual workers. This is especially true for those societies in which one can observe class-antagonisms. Hence, examples of different political, religious, philosophical, and so on ideologies can also be found in societies where the bourgeoisie is the ruling class. Furthermore, Marx and Engels (2004: 44) rendered their thoughts on how such ideologies of the ruling class could eventually be overcome by the active class-struggle of the working class and by communism. Since Münkler and Hubmann (2004: 1*–4*) were obviously not assuming that today's society is a communist society, they must have questioned the value of Marx and Engels's theory for the scientific analysis of the contemporary world.

It is self-evident then that there cannot be any relevance of what has become known as *The German Ideology* for "scientific discourse" focusing on today's world if today's world is "post-ideological." The assumptions by Münkler and Hubmann have downgraded one of the most famous political writings by Marx and Engels to a document of only historical value written sometime in the dark days of a bygone "ideological age." Therefore, the addressees of the 2004 edition of *The German Ideology* are not only scholars and intellectuals in general, but scholars and intellectuals who themselves have no connection with a world where Western leaders, for example, emphasize their "Christian faith" when fighting "Islamic terrorism" and "rogue states" like Iraq, and indeed with "building democracy" on the basis of "enduring freedom" (McSmith, 2006).

In the Methodological Excursus to this volume, we draw the conclusion that "editions are interpretations and editors are interpreters." And since science is not some kind of metaphysical living being, but is always carried out by humans, one has to take a look at what the real editors of the texts, Taubert and Pelger, had to say about their "interpretation." As mentioned earlier, Taubert and Pelger wrote the "*Einführung*" to the advance edition, and it is very important to search this "*Einführung*" for any hints about their view on the relevance and topicality of the 1845–46 manuscripts for today's readers.

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While Münkler and Hubmann demanded from their readers that Marx's *œuvre* (Engels as an author was not mentioned here) should be interpreted "beyond political imperatives," Taubert and Pelger wanted actively "to lay the foundation" for "reducing [*zurückführen*] the materialist conception of history to the conception and understanding that is true to the one of Marx and Engels." In order to do so, Taubert and Pelger emphasized that Marx and Engels did not use the term "materialist conception of history" in what has become known as *The German Ideology* and only talked about "their [Marx and Engels's] conception of history." Furthermore, it became inevitable, according to Taubert and Pelger, "to present the seven manuscripts as Marx and Engels left them" (Münkler and Hubmann, 2004: 2*; IMES, 2004: 6*–7*).

While Münkler and Hubmann wrote their "Editorial" for readers who either have no knowledge of Marx and Engels at all or associate them negatively with the Marxist-Leninist conception of the world as propagated by the former USSR and East Germany, Taubert and Pelger wrote their "*Einführung*" for readers who have already made the effort to study some form of "Marxism," but do not know much about the historical origins of Engels's expression "materialist conception of history," widely circulated from 1888 (see chapter 3). Taubert and Pelger (2004: 8*) demanded nothing less than fidelity to the chronology in which the manuscripts had been committed to paper by Marx and Engels in 1845–46.

The *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003 apparatus criticus* and the Chronology of the Manuscripts

In the following discussion a series of 11 very different manuscripts and articles will be analyzed. Previous editors generally merged 7 of these 11 manuscripts into one more or less coherent chapter. According to Taubert and Pelger (2004: 6*), one can observe six such attempts at "logically and systematically" constructing a single chapter in the history of editions. These attempts were all published under a title that Engels wrote (probably after Marx's death in 1883) in pencil at the end of the so-called main manuscript: "*I. Feuerbach. Gegensatz von materialistischer & idealistischer Anschauung*" (270).

A "complete new approach" was chosen for the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition of *The German Ideology*. For the first time ever, the ordering of the manuscripts was supposed to be guided by nothing but the chronological order of the fragments. This chronological order of the fragments had already been set down in the 1998 "*Konstitution von MEGA2 I/5*" (Constitution of MEGA2 I/5), published by Taubert, Pelger, and Grandjonc (1998c: 49–102) in the journal *MEGA-Studien* for 1997. The only difference between the *MEGA-Studien* grouping and the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* arrangement of the manuscripts and articles lies in the inclusion of an article by Weydemeyer (IMES, 2004: 5*).

The following paragraph headings comprise (a) the numbering by the two editors of the 2004 edition, (b) the name of the author(s) of the respective manuscript or article, and (c) the German "working title" and its translation into English where

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necessary. Where these editors have used a paragraph heading, which had formerly been used to construct a coherent Feuerbach chapter, I reproduce this in italics.

I/5–1 [Marx:] Gegen Bruno Bauer (Against Bruno Bauer)

This anonymously published article, perhaps written by Marx alone, was published in the German-language journal *Gesellschaftsspiegel* of January 1846 (see chapter 2; Marx, 1971: 6–8). The article was dated November 20, and Brussels was identified as the geographic origin. The content of the article was a direct response to another entitled "*Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs*" by Marx's former mentor and friend Bruno Bauer. Bauer's article had itself been published in the journal *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift* around the middle of October 1845 (see chapter 5). The editors of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* assumed that the date (November 20) provided in the reply to Bauer is correct and that it had not been altered by Hess, who was the editor of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* at the time.

Bauer's article contained a few critical remarks about the first publication that Engels and Marx had written together in 1844 and which was first published in 1845: *Die heilige Familie, oder Kritik der kritischen Kritik. Gegen Bruno Bauer & Consorten (The Holy Family, or critique of critical criticism. Against Bruno Bauer & Company)*. Therefore, one could assume that the article printed in the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* of January 1846 was written by Marx and Engels together. And, in fact, this assumption was made by Bagaturiya (1971: 201; see IMES, 2004: 157) in his 1971 doctoral dissertation. However, speculation about authorship had started as early as 1921. As already pointed out in chapter 2, it all started with Engels's biographer Mayer (1971: 777–80), who ascribed the critical article on Bauer to Engels alone.

The 1932 MEGA1 edition by Adoratskii then in turn viewed Marx's brother-in-law Edgar von Westphalen (1819–90) as the real author, while Marx had supposedly only edited the article later on (Adoratskij, 1932a: XVIII–IX). A letter by Marx to Engels, written on May 15, 1847, saying that Hess still owed Marx and von Westphalen money in connection with the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, was supposed to provide evidence in this matter (Marx, 1965b: 82). The editors of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* went for the only remaining option by ascribing the article for the first time solely to Marx. They argued that Bauer had only attacked Marx, and that Marx had simply replied (IMES, 2004: 157). Still the problem is not finally solved, and this might be the reason why the yearbook's title for this article renders the name Karl Marx in square brackets (2004: 5*).

The printer's copy of the article has unfortunately not survived. The edited text published in the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* was, therefore, based on a first edition of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel*, which had formerly belonged to the library of the Social Democratic Party of Germany in Berlin. Together with many other documents, the first edition of the *Gesellschaftsspiegel* was sent to the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, in 1935, in order to make sure that the ruling German Fascists would not get hold of it (Harstick, 1973: 202–22). The title

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"Gegen Bruno Bauer" was taken from the list of contents of this first edition (IMES, 2004: 158).

I/5–3 Marx/Engels: *Feuerbach und Geschichte. Entwurf und Notizen* (Feuerbach and History. Outline and Notes)

The second document that found its way into the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* is by far the longest one. It consists of 68 pages, and it was termed the "main manuscript" by Ryazanov (1926a: 117; see chapter 2). Taubert and Pelger described this centerpiece of what has become known as *The German Ideology* as a "version of last hand" (*eine Fassung letzter Hand*). The two editors pointed out that it was Marx who had ordered and paginated the manuscript last, and therefore the manuscript could be classified as a "version of last hand." Apart from the pages 3–7 and 36–39, which are still missing, the numbering starts on page 1 and runs all the way through to page 72. However, the continuous numbering conceals the fact that the "main manuscript" was composed of four independent fragments that were not committed to paper at the same time (IMES, 2004: 20*). These four fragments (fragments a–d) can be identified in the following way:

a. Pages 1–29 were written down as part of yet another review or article dealing with Bauer's "*Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs*." Sometime after November 25, 1845, Hess arrived in Brussels, where Marx and Engels were staying at the time, with the assurance of a publisher for printing several articles and reviews. According to Taubert and Pelger, Marx and Engels then sat down once again to inveigh against Bauer, who was one of the leading figures among the Young Hegelians. This was done despite the fact that Marx, allegedly all by himself, had already written an article against Bauer's "*Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs*" dated November 20, 1845 (see earlier).

The text fragment itself is incomplete. Taubert and Pelger (2004: 163–6) maintained that it formerly comprised up to 16 printer's sheets, but only the second page of the first printer's sheet, together with printer's sheets 6–11, have survived. This translates as pages 1–29, according to the numbering by Marx. Pages 3–7 were lost, and therefore cannot be found in the yearbook (6*). Furthermore, it is not known whether the manuscript had a heading, but it is certain that it did not have any subheadings. Four longer sections of the manuscript were crossed-out in a certain way by either Marx or Engels, in order to indicate that the content had been worked in somewhere else (*Erledigungsvermerk*). Most of these crossed-out passages were later on used for writing the critique "*II. Sankt Bruno*" of the 1845–46 manuscripts. As a result, the remaining passages of this first fragment dealt mainly with "*Feuerbach*" and "*Geschichte*" (166–8; see chapter 6).

b. Pages 30–35 were written down as part of the critique "*III. Sankt Max*" of what has become known as *The German Ideology*. Taubert and Pelger maintained

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that these five pages had been extracted by Marx and/or Engels from a subsection of "*III. Sankt Max*" entitled "*Altes Testament. Die Hierarchie*" (The Old Testament. Hierarchy). After their work on "*III. Sankt Max*" was finished, Marx and Engels apparently decided to go over the manuscript again and to revise and shorten the text. During this process, some passages were omitted and their content became part of the so-called main manuscripts, to which Taubert and Pelger had given the editorial title "Feuerbach und Geschichte. Entwurf und Notizen" (I/5–3).

The passages that were used for "*Feuerbach und Geschichte. Entwurf und Notizen*," consisted of two printer's sheets. They were, according to the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition, paginated by Engels (2004: 179) with 20 and 21. The close relationship between "*III. Sankt Max*" and the so-called main manuscript can be illustrated by the fact that it is possible to find parts of these two printer's sheets in both the manuscripts dealing with "*Feuerbach und Geschichte*" (*Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition) and in the printer's copy of "*III. Sankt Max*" (MEGA1 edition). For example, a short passage written down by Engels and later on crossed-out by Weydemeyer ("*Text mit Erledigungsvermerk*"), which was reproduced in the yearbook's *apparatus criticus* on pages 197–8, can also be found in Weydemeyer's handwriting on page 157 of the 1932 MEGA1 edition (197–8; Marx and Engels, 1932a: 157). Page 157 of the MEGA1 edition is part of the aforementioned subsection of "*III. Sankt Max*" entitled "*Altes Testament. Die Hierarchie*."

Taubert and Pelger claimed that printer's sheets 20 and 21 contained the "essence" (*Quintessenz*) of Marx and Engels's criticism of Stirner (IMES, 2004: 169).

c. Pages 36–72 were also written down as part of the critique "*III. Sankt Max*" of the 1845–46 manuscripts. However, here Marx and Engels (2004: 169–70) extracted parts from the subsection "*Neues Testament. Die Gesellschaft als bürgerliche Gesellschaft*" (The New Testament. Society as bourgeois society). The 9 printer's sheets on which the 36 pages of this fragment were written were originally numbered by Engels. The numbering starts with 84 and runs all the way through to 92 (180). Here one finds again that the printer's sheets' numbers correspond more or less to the numbering in the 1932 Adoratskii MEGA1 edition. The subsection "*Neues Testament. Die Gesellschaft als bürgerliche Gesellschaft*" starts with printer's sheet 80 and ends with sheet 90 (see Marx and Engels, 1932a: 327–55; Adoratskij, 1932b: 557).

According to the two editors of *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*, this third fragment of "*Feuerbach und Geschichte. Entwurf und Notizen*" must be categorized as a very early sketch. The various themes have only been broached in the manuscript and were not discussed comprehensively. The treatment of the various topics was mainly based on research that Marx and Engels had conducted in Paris, Brussels, and Manchester in 1844–45. The fact that the authors did not provide much information about their sources underlines once again the "heterogeneous, fragmentary,

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unfinished and incomplete character" (Taubert and Pelger) of this fragment (IMES, 2004: 169–70).

The four pages with the numbering 36–39 by Marx are lost and have not yet been found.

d. Finally, numerous notes can be found on the last two pages (pages 72 and 73) of the so-called main manuscript. Page 73 was numbered neither by Marx nor Engels. The notes, with one exception, were written down solely by Marx. According to Taubert and Pelger (2004), they are not directly related to any subsection of "*III. Sankt Max*." However, thematically, they are supposedly related to pages 40–72 of what was entitled "*Feuerbach und Geschichte. Entwurf und Notizen*." Due to unintelligible handwriting and grammatical errors one can assume that the notes were written down in a great hurry (175).

Beginning with the 1932 MEGA1 edition, these important notes by Marx (on the importance of these notes, see the Methodological Excursus to this volume) were often isolated from the rest of the fragments and only rendered in some form of "*Anhang*" (appendix). The *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition followed the tradition of the 1926 *Marx-Engels-Archiv* (see Marx and Engels, 1932a: 536–7). In both the 1926 *Marx-Engels-Archiv* and the 1932 Landshut and Mayer editions, the notes were instead directly attached to fragment c of manuscript I/5–3 (see Marx and Engels, 1926a: 301–2; 1932b: 76–7).

The manuscript line by Engels "*I. Feuerbach. Gegensatz von materialistischer & idealistischer Anschauung*" has been used as a title for the "first chapter" of *The German Ideology* from the time of its first publication in Ryazanov's *Marx-Engels-Archiv* edition of 1926 (Marx and Engels, 1926a: 233). The *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition by contrast became the first edition to restore historical accuracy by ceasing to use this little bit of notation as a title for a chapter that simply does not exist.

From the above it follows that the article numbered I/5–1 was written before November 20, 1845. "*Feuerbach und Geschichte. Entwurf und Notizen*" (I/5–3), which comes next in the chronological ordering of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*, was probably merged into a "version of last hand" around the spring of 1846. Taubert and Pelger assumed, without providing any reasons in the yearbook that would explain their important supposition, that Marx had ordered and paginated at least parts of the so-called main manuscript around that time (IMES, 2004: 168).

I/5–4 Marx/Engels: Feuerbach

This third document comprises seven short independent paragraphs that deal with Feuerbach's 1843 *Grundsätze der Philosophie der Zukunft* (see chapter 5). These paragraphs contain quotations from Feuerbach's philosophical writings, and allegedly annotations by both Marx and Engels. A further examination of the *Grundsätze*

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der Philosophie der Zukunft, a long time after Marx and Engels (2004: 292–3) had already discussed this work in the "*Ökonomisch-philosophischen Manuskripte*" (1844) and in *Die Heilige Familie* (1845), had evidently become necessary for them in connection with their critical work on Bauer's October 1845 article "*Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs*".

The manuscript "*Feuerbach*" was first published in the appendix to the 1932 MEGA1 edition (Marx and Engels, 1932a: 538–40). The title provided by the editors was "*Engels über Feuerbach*" (Engels on Feuerbach), and Engels was named as the sole author. The commentary to this manuscript maintained that it was written around October 1846 in Paris, therefore, many months after most of the 1845–46 manuscripts had been committed to paper (Adoratskij, 1932b: 530). In sharp contrast to this, the English-language *Marx-Engels-Collected Works* dated the manuscript "autumn of 1845," which would have been at the very beginning of Marx and Engels's work on what has become known as *The German Ideology* (Churbanov, 1976b: 585).

However, according to the extensive article "*Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Manuskripts 'Feuerbach' und dessen Einordnung in den Band I/5 der MEGA2*" (On the history of the origin of the manuscript "Feuerbach" and its position in Volume I/5 of MEGA2"), written in 1989 by Taubert, the manuscript must have been composed sometime between December 1845 and the middle of April 1846. Thus, Marx and Engels should be seen as joint authors of the manuscript, not only because they had revised their previous judgment of Feuerbach's perceptual materialism, but also because they were differentiating in one paragraph between Feuerbach and "us" (Taubert, 1989b: 107–8). Consequently, *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* made the following determination: "Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels: Feuerbach: probably between January and March 1846" (IMES, 2004: 292).

I/5–5 Marx/Engels: *I. Feuerbach*

Only now, after "*Feuerbach und Geschichte. Entwurf und Notizen*" (I/5–3) had been written down by the authors, did they then draft three different "chapter openings" to a critique of Feuerbach (I/5–5, I/5–6, I/5–7). The significance of these three short documents for understanding Marx and Engels's intellectual development at the time had been stressed by Karl Löwith (1897–1973) in his 1941 book *Von Hegel zu Nietzsche* (*From Hegel to Nietzsche*). Löwith's discussion of what he called *The German Ideology* was narrowed down to the openings of the critique of Feuerbach, where Löwith (1995: 114–18) found what he considered to be all the essential messages of the manuscripts condensed into a few pages.

According to the editors of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*, it is not exactly known when these three "chapter openings" were committed to paper. Still, it is important to investigate the dates of origin, because here—for the first time ever—Marx and Engels were introducing both the words "*deutsche*" (German) and "*Ideologie*" (ideology) in a single subheading ("*A. Die Ideologie überhaupt, namentlich die deutsche*"). Furthermore, here they also clearly revealed their intention to produce some form of

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separate critique, which would have been entitled "*I. Feuerbach*," if it had materialized further.

There has been much confusion about the chronological order and independent value of the different "chapter openings" to "*I. Feuerbach*" in the past. Again, it all started with Ryazanov and his 1926 *Marx-Engels-Archiv* edition, where he merged the three "chapter openings" into one single and coherent text, which was then placed at the beginning of the "main manuscript" (see Marx and Engels, 1926a: 233–41). In opposition to this long-standing practice of finishing the work of Marx and Engels for them, Taubert and Pelger argued that the openings were drafted months after "*Feuerbach und Geschichte. Entwurf und Notizen*," and thus should not be placed in front of these manuscripts. They claimed that the date of origin of manuscript I/5–5 was sometime between June 1846 and the middle of July (IMES, 2004: 300).

This makes sense, because after Marx and Engels wrote I/5–3 (fragment a), dealing once again with Bauer, Marx (2004: 168) supposedly divided the text up by defining at least three different topics in the spring of 1846: "*Feuerbach*," "*Geschichte*," and "*Bauer*." The "Bauer" parts, as already mentioned, were later on used for the critique "*II. Sankt Bruno*" (337). Until the middle of April 1846, Marx and Engels probably concentrated entirely on completing the fair copies "*II. Sankt Bruno*" and "*III. Sankt Max*," because around this time Weydemeyer (2004: 300; Koltan 1995: 50) took the manuscripts with him to Germany. Only then, and after Marx and Engels had decided to write a separate critique of Feuerbach, could the two authors find the time to work on it.

I/5–6 Marx/Engels: I. Feuerbach. 1. *Die Ideologie überhaupt, speziell die deutsche Philosophie* (I. Feuerbach. 1. Ideology in General, especially German Philosophy)

All editions of *The German Ideology* that were published before the 1972 MEGA2 "*Probeband*" edition normally started with manuscript I/5–6 or I/5–7, inserted manuscript I/5–5, and then proceeded with manuscript I/5–6. By doing so, a single and more or less coherent "chapter opening" was created from these three very short documents. However, the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition improved even on the 1972 MEGA2 "*Probeband*" edition. Although the "*Probeband*" edition rendered two neatly separated openings, it still merged manuscripts I/5–6 and I/5–7 into one. By contrast, the 2004 yearbook edition provided the reader with all three versions (Marx and Engels, 2004: 104–10).

Concerning the date of origin of this particular manuscript (I/5–6), Taubert and Pelger added an important hint, which underpinned their previous analysis of the historical chronology. On March 28, 1846, an article by Theodor Opitz (1820–96) was published in the *Trier'sche Zeitung*. Opitz quoted a new pamphlet by Bauer, in which Bauer talked about some "powers of the past" (*Mächte der Vergangenheit*). This exact expression can also be found in manuscript I/5–6, and, if one believes

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Taubert and Pelger, it is very likely that Marx and Engels copied it from the *Trier'sche Zeitung*. Thus, "chapter opening" I/5–6 could not have been written before the end of March 1846 (IMES, 2004: 308).

I/5–7 Marx/Engels: *I. Feuerbach. Einleitung* (I. Feuerbach. Introduction)

Marx and Engels corrected and improved manuscript I/5–6 twice after it had been written down by Engels. In the end, they simply must have decided to prepare a more legible copy of the introductory part of the manuscript. This printer's copy, which forms an independent manuscript, was given the working title "*I. Feuerbach. Einleitung*" by Taubert and Pelger. Since the original manuscript I/5–6 and the printer's copy I/5–7 were written on different types of paper, one can assume that some time must have passed before Engels sat down to do the copying. No further corrections were carried out by Marx (2004: 315).

I/5–8 Marx/Engels: *I. Feuerbach*. Fragment 1

This manuscript comprises two printer's sheets. According to Taubert and Pelger, it deals with the "division of labour, its history and its connection to forms of property, with respect to the relationships among different nations and the inner structure of these nations." Marx and Engels abruptly ended their portrayal of historical events after they had introduced the "feudal epoch." The content of this manuscript is closely related to manuscript I/5–3 (fragment c) and was part of Marx and Engels's critical analysis of Stirner's ideas about bourgeois society. Here the two authors made extensive use of the knowledge that they had gained while studying different works of political economy in Brussels and Manchester (2004: 319; Rubel, 1975: 20–1).

Taubert and Pelger maintained that manuscript I/5–8 was written down after Marx and Engels had finished their work on the "second volume" of what has become known as *The German Ideology*. This "second volume" comprised, as explained in chapter 3, several critiques of "German socialism according to its various prophets" (Marx, 1959b: 38). Thus manuscript I/5–8 was dated by the editors "around June or the first half of July 1846." This assertion is supported by the fact that Marx and Engels had used a different type of paper from the one that was used for the production of earlier manuscripts, such as I/5–3 (fragment a) and "*III. Sankt Max*" (IMES, 2004: 319–20).

Former editors did not seem to know what to do with this short piece of writing. While the 1932 MEGA1 edition rendered manuscript I/5–8 as part of the "chapter opening," by attaching it directly to manuscript I/5–6, the Hiromatsu edition (mis-)used it to fill the gap between fragments (b) and (c) of manuscript I/5–3 (see Marx and Engels, 1932a: 11–5; 1974: 78–86). As mentioned earlier, the four missing pages with the presumed numbering 36–39 by Marx have not been found even today. However, it makes little sense "logically" to insert manuscript I/5–8 somewhere in the middle of manuscript I/5–3.

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I/5–9 Marx/Engels: *I. Feuerbach*. Fragment 2

Taubert and Pelger, the editors of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*, admitted that the requirement to order manuscripts I/5–8 and I/5–9 chronologically could not be fulfilled. It is not known as yet which of the two manuscripts was written first. However, the paper used for manuscript I/5–9 was part of the same batch as the paper that Marx and Engels had used after finishing their work on the critique "*III. Sankt Max*" (IMES, 2004: 320).

In this important manuscript Marx and Engels claimed that neither abstract empiricism nor idealism was guiding their own research (Marx and Engels, 2004: 116). The significance of this manuscript has been discussed thoroughly here as part of the methodological points employed (see Methodological Excursus to this volume). It is probably due to the methodological content of manuscript I/5–9 that Ryazanov decided to insert it in front of the "main manuscript" of the first German-language edition of "*I. Feuerbach*" in 1926 (see Marx and Engels, 1926a: 238–41).

I/5–10 Marx/Engels: *Das Leipziger Konzil* (The Leipzig Council)

After the seven manuscripts used by all previous editors to create some form of coherent Feuerbach chapter had been displayed separately, Taubert and Pelger provided the reader of *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* with three additional manuscripts. The first two, manuscripts I/5–10 "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" and I/5–11 "*II. Sankt Bruno*," were dated by Taubert and Pelger: "Not earlier than February/March up to the middle of April 1846 at the latest." However, since the time frame for the origin of the first seven manuscripts (I/5–3 to I/5–9) had stretched, as explained earlier, over a time period from the end of November 1845 (I/5–3) to June or July 1846 (I/5–9), it is puzzling why the editors of the yearbook placed manuscripts I/5–10 and I/5–11 after the manuscripts I/5–5 to I/5–9. From a strict chronological point of view, manuscripts I/5–10 and I/5–11 should have followed the short manuscript "Feuerbach" (I/5–4), which was dated "probably between January and March 1846" (IMES, 2004: 292, 328).

After all, the *Editionsrichtlinien der Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe* (Editorial guidelines of the Marx-Engels-complete edition), published in 1993 as a separate volume of MEGA2 by the Internationale Marx-Engels-Stiftung, Amsterdam, were very clear and strict about chronology (IMES, 1993: 22–3). Here, under the heading "*Textanordnung*" (Arrangement of the texts), the first paragraph reads as follows:

> 1. The edited texts will be arranged chronologically within the separate divisions: decisive for the arrangement is the period of writing (setting down) and not the period of preparation, nor the time of publication. (22)

By scrutinizing the arrangement of the texts in the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*, it becomes obvious that the chronological order was disrupted once the manuscripts,

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formerly used by others to create some form of Feuerbach chapter, had been arranged in the volume. But how is it possible to study the work process of Marx and Engels to its full extent and to grasp the development of their ideas if one reads manuscripts (I/5–5 to I/5–9) first, which were written around June and July 1846, and only afterward studies the writings of winter and spring 1846, such as "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" and "*II. Sankt Bruno*"? Furthermore, how is it possible to understand the meaning of the "main manuscript" (the "version of last hand"), without reading "*III. Sankt Max*" first, from which Marx and Engels took fragments (b) and (c) of manuscript I/5–3?

The editors of the yearbook, Taubert and Pelger, stressed that they did not construct a Feuerbach chapter (IMES, 2004: 7*). But if there is no Feuerbach chapter, why should the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts still be kept together in one chronological ordering, and "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," "*II. Sankt Bruno*," and "*III. Sankt Max*" in another? No answer to this crucial question can be found in the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*.

Taubert and Pelger, after all, were not able to abandon the idea of having some form of a Feuerbach chapter, even a "philologically deconstructed" one (Münkler and Hubmann, 2004: 4*). Of course, one could argue that manuscripts I/5–10 and I/5–11 belonged to another "version of last hand," simply because these fair copies had been handed over to Weydemeyer in one block when he returned to Germany in the middle of April 1846. Still, this would only, if at all, justify not separating manuscripts I/5–10 and I/5–11. However, if one strives in accordance with the "editorial guidelines" of MEGA2 for a strict chronological ordering of all manuscripts as they were written down, then the insertion of this second "version of last hand" in between manuscripts I/5–4 and I/5–5 becomes inevitable.

I/5–11 Marx/Engels: *II. Sankt Bruno (II. Saint Bruno)*

According to Taubert and Pelger, it is very likely that the printer's copy "*II. Sankt Bruno*" was originally called "*I. Sankt Bruno*." This statement underlines once more that when Marx and Engels worked on this particular manuscript against Bauer, sometime between February/March 1846 and the middle of April 1846, they were not anticipating any such independent critique "*I. Feuerbach*."

It is interesting to know that manuscript I/5–11, which is also archived in the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, Amsterdam, does not possess its own shelfmark (*Signatur*), but is still treated as part of manuscript I/5–10, a mistake that dates back to 1921. In that year, Mayer published both "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" and "*II. Sankt Bruno*" under the title "*Das Leipziger Konzil*," while rendering the title "*II. Sankt Bruno*" only as a subheading (see chapter 2; Marx and Engels, 1971: 782, 784). In this particular case, *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* correctly separates the two independent manuscripts (Marx and Engels, 2004: 118, 120). After all, it is not known whether manuscript I/5–10 was actually written before or after manuscript I/5–11.

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Anhang: Joseph Weydemeyer unter Mitwirkung von Karl Marx: Bruno Bauer und sein Apologet (Addendum: Joseph Weydemeyer in Collaboration with Karl Marx: Bruno Bauer and his Apologist)

This last text is a reprint of an article that was published in the April 1846 edition of the monthly journal *Das Westphälische Dampfboot*. The article was signed only by Weydemeyer. Its content is closely related to the manuscript I/5–11 "*II. Sankt Bruno*," which must have been completed before Weydemeyer wrote the final version of his own article. According to Taubert and Pelger, one can find some ideas by Marx reflected in this published critique of Bauer. Therefore, Taubert and Pelger claimed that Marx must be identified as a "co-author" (IMES, 2004: 385–6). However, if Marx and Engels (and maybe indirectly also Hess and Weydemeyer) had worked on what has become known as *The German Ideology* together, why would it be possible to exclude Engels's influence on a work that Weydemeyer had published right after he left Brussels in the middle of April 1846?

Strangely enough, manuscript I/5–2 "*Karl Marx: Vorrede*" (Karl Marx: Preface) was not included in the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition. This manuscript was written solely by Marx after he and Engels had finished their work on "*III. Sankt Max*." The assumed date of origin is sometime between the middle of April and the end of July 1846. Technically, though, it could have been drafted even as late as December 1846 (Taubert, Pelger, and Grandjonc, 1998c: 63). No reasons were provided by the editors of the yearbook as to why this important manuscript was not included in their "pre-publication" of manuscripts that would later form a substantial part of volume I/5 of MEGA2 (IMES, 2004: 6*).

Published Criticism Concerning the 2004 Edition of *The German Ideology*

There are two types of criticism. The first disapproved of formal aspects of *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* and was, therefore, mainly aimed at the publishers Münkler and Hubmann and the Internationale Marx-Engels-Stiftung, Amsterdam (Heuer, 2004; Schmieder, 2004; Semler, 2004). The second referred to the content of the yearbook and addressed the main editors Taubert and Pelger (Kellerhoff, 2004; Koltan, 2002). Both types of criticism were politically charged.

What was the formal criticism all about? During a meeting of the managing committee of the Internationale Marx-Engels-Stiftung, Amsterdam, on January 27, 2005, it was pointed out that Uwe-Jens Heuer (1927–), in an article published in the German left-wing daily *junge Welt* (Young World), questioned the "philological turnaround of MEGA in general" (Hubmann, 2005: 5). However, even a very superficial look at Heuer's article "*Die Umbewertung des Marxschen Denkens*" (The re-evaluation of Marx's thinking), published on October 13, 2004, reveals that Heuer was not at all critical of the editors' new "historical-critical approach." Furthermore, he stressed explicitly that he thought that a "correction of previous editions [of *The German Ideology*] is necessary and sensible." Thus, Heuer did not

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criticize the "philological turnaround of MEGA in general" and instead focused on the "question of addressees," the "effectiveness" of the publication, and the ideology of the "post-ideological era" (Heuer, 2004). In his article, he wrote:

> Indeed, I cannot agree, if, with reference to the post-ideological era, it is not allowed to raise the question of addressees anymore, and therefore the question of relevance. Besides, Münkler also publishes for certain addressees, though his addressees are not the working class or other exploited or oppressed people. Münkler became famous through his book "The New Wars"…Why, questions [the German liberal newspaper] *Die Zeit*, "does a specialist in classical authors of political theory develop into an adviser of the general staff of the German armed forces, the strategic office of the foreign ministry and also NGOs involved in humanitarian missions." (Heuer, 2004; Lau, 2003)

Heuer probably became skeptical when he learned that someone like Münkler was publishing writings by Marx and Engels, although on his own account he is in favor of a US-led "empire," defends the Bush administration's war in Iraq, and writes emphatically against "anti-imperialists" (see Bollmann, 2005). And in conclusion, Heuer argued that without the emancipatory approach of Marx "the post-ideological era [as announced by Münkler and Hubmann] reveals itself as the era of imperialism" (Heuer, 2004).

By taking Münkler's political orientation into account, one has to say that the reading and also the scope of interpretation of the 1845–46 manuscripts had been carefully framed by the authors of the "Editorial," who were after all not even the real editors of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition. Münkler and Hubmann (2004: 1*–4*) had tried to camouflage their political aspirations by using words like "objective," "non-ideological," or "scientific." In fact, an explanation why, for example, the "ruling class" of every society is eager to disguise its subjective class interests behind impressive and indisputable words like "God," "objectivity," "common or national interest," and "science" had already been provided by Marx and Engels in what is now known to us as *The German Ideology*. Here they argued:

> In effect, each new class, which replaces the preceding dominant one, is obliged, even if only to achieve its aims, to represent its interests as the common interests of all members of society; that is to say, in terms of ideas, to give its thoughts the form of universality, to present them as the only reasonable ones, the only ones universally valid. (Marx and Engels, 1994: 146)

The "thinkers" of a given society, who continually stress the "scientific objectivity" of their ideas, while at the same time emphatically rejecting any alternative as purely ideologically driven, often turn out to be the "conceptual ideologues" of the ruling class (Marx and Engels, 2004: 41).

Thus, it is not surprising that the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* was well received and reviewed by the establishment press in Germany. In an article published in the liberal middle-class daily *Die Tageszeitung* (Daily News), which, by the way, was full

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of mistakes and platitudes, Christian Semler (1938–) claimed that the 2004 edition of *The German Ideology* had now freed it of any political intentions. Today nobody would be interested in utilizing the works of Marx and Engels for any political aspirations anymore, and only science itself (as if science were some kind of living and divine being) should govern the process of editing (Semler, 2004).

Due to Münkler's good reputation in certain circles of society and his record of political integrity, some of the more conservative newspapers like *Die Welt* (The World), which normally steer clear of Marx and Engels, reviewed the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*. Sven Felix Kellerhoff (1971–), author of the article "*Die "Deutsche Ideologie" hat es nie gegeben*" (The "German Ideology" never existed), applauded the editors of *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*. Kellerhoff (2004) pointed out that the yearbook successfully "eliminated" all "communist stylisation [*kommunistische Stilisierung*] of the two intellectual progenitors [Marx and Engels]," who were "philosophically of a high standard," but "politically confused." However, Kellerhoff did not know that Münkler and Hubmann were not the real editors of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*, and he therefore praised the wrong people.

While liberal and conservative commentators welcomed the "deconstruction" of the so-called Feuerbach chapter of *The German Ideology*, it was Koltan who wanted to push ahead in this direction. In the center of his content-related criticism—the second type of criticism one can observe—stood the controversial term "version of last hand" (see chapter 1). As already described earlier, two such "versions of last hand" can be found in the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*: manuscript I/5–3 (the "main manuscript") and manuscripts I/5–10 and I/5–11. Manuscripts I/5–10 and I/5–11 can only be understood as "versions of last hand" because the editors, Taubert and Pelger, had not placed them in chronological order. However, according to Koltan, the habit of presenting a smooth text, while tracing the development of the text (text revision) in a separate *apparatus criticus*, must also be characterized as faking a "version of last hand" (Koltan, 2002: 139).

Koltan's criticism, where he gets quite personal against Taubert, was published by the German "anarchist" publishing house *Unrast-Verlag*, Münster, prior to the publication of *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*. Koltan clearly anticipated that Taubert would edit the manuscripts once again as a "version of last hand." In his short and polemical essay "*Die Editionsgeschichte der 'Feuerbach-Manuskripte'*" (2002), he not only recalled aspects of the history of MEGA2, but complained sarcastically that "Mrs. Taubert," as a "reward for twenty-five years of bungling in the pay of socialism," will still be in charge of supervising the text production of *The German Ideology*. To him "there is as yet no cure for half a century of the bureaucratisation of Marxism." He predicted (and the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* verified his prediction) that "the main text will be presented as a 'version of last hand' and the development of the text [*Textentwicklung*] will be banished into the *apparatus criticus*." Koltan then reminded his readers of the actual condition of the "Feuerbach manuscripts" and concluded that it is nothing but a "bad joke" even to speak of a "version of last hand." In particular, the involvement of Taubert in the process of editing the

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forthcoming volume I/5 of MEGA2 had convinced Koltan (2002: 138–9) that "a useful edition will not be in the offing."

In the final chapter of this volume, we summarize the results of our research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* and put forward our own ideas for editing the 1845–46 manuscripts as a "contextual edition."

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Chapter Nine

Summary, Conclusions, and Ideas on How to Publish the So-Called "German ideology" Manuscripts in Future

Results of Research into the Political History of the Editions of *The German Ideology*

If one looks back over 90 years of the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*, it becomes clear that this history is far from over. Neither the history of editions nor the political history of such editions has yet come to an end. On the one hand, many of the most fundamental editorial problems have not yet been solved. This is particularly true for the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts. Although the seven independent fragments of the "first chapter" of what is now known to us as *The German Ideology* have been presented separately and within themselves in chronological order (I/5–3 to I/5–9), the editors of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition were still presenting, even in a deconstructed form, a Feuerbach chapter. This is because the editors did not place certain text fragments, which had been written between February and the middle of April 1846 ("*Das Leipziger Konzil*" and "*II. Sankt Bruno*"), in correct chronological order among the seven independent fragments of the "first chapter" (see chapter 8). Such grave editorial inconsistencies will have to be overcome in any future edition.

On the other hand, the political conflicts that accompanied the history of the editions of *The German Ideology* since 1921 are also far from being settled. By quoting from several book reviews, we have shown in chapter 8 that the division between those editors who aim to utilize works by Marx and Engels for propaganda among the working classes and those editors who want to address only a scientific elite is as deep as ever. Thus, the main question, as raised at the very beginning of this volume, has not yet been answered conclusively. Still, editors and readers are both arguing emphatically over the question of whether *The German Ideology* should be published in such a way that its content serves as a source of information and inspiration for a broad readership predominantly from the working classes, or whether it should be published in such a way that its content provides scientific insight for

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intellectuals researching the historical background, the formal chronology of the manuscripts and the question of authorship (see chapter 1). Such grave political dissension will also have to be overcome in any future edition.

However, what are our conclusions from studying the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*? Concerning the vivid history of the political conflicts we have observed the following two contrary lines of development. The first began with the 1926 *Marx-Engels-Archiv* edition and ended with the 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition. Here the general trend was to make the 1845–46 manuscripts as accessible to as broad a readership as possible. What this meant in terms of high-handedly constructing something that had only little to do with what Marx and Engels had left behind has been explored and presented in chapters 2–4. The various editions of this time—although widely circulated among ordinary readers—were not acceptable from a scientific point of view and ultimately contributed to a "schematic" understanding of Marx and Engels's "conception of history."

The second development commenced with the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition and found its temporary climax in the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition published in 2004. In this case the general trend was toward scientific accuracy and chronology. Many examples of this general trend have been rendered in chapters 5–8. Also the results of this second editorial line of development are not at all satisfying, because the historical-critical editions have become not only increasingly expensive, but also their text rendition (supplemented by an extensive *apparatus criticus*) and commentary are arguably too complex and confusing for nonacademic readers. No German-language study editions have yet been produced on the basis of the 1972 "*Probeband*" or the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* editions. Today's German-language study editions still reflect pre-1970s knowledge about the 1845–46 manuscripts (see chapter 5).

Although the trend toward more scientific fidelity has ultimately prevailed, the practical and therefore political influence of what is now known to us as *The German Ideology* has dwindled. This is not an inevitable development. As we have claimed in chapter 1, scientific research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* will ultimately prove that there is no necessary contradiction between historical accuracy and readability, between scientific meticulousness and contemporary working-class politics. However, it must be understood that only today, and only on the basis of the entire political history of these editions, does it become possible to transcend this historical conflict. We stress that it is only thanks to the complex political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* that scholars have made those important discoveries that will soon allow us to produce editions of the 1845–46 manuscripts that are not only of the highest scientific standard, but are also readable, exciting, and truly educational.

In the following discussion we present three important interpretations of the 1845–46 manuscripts that have prepared the ground for future editions. To our understanding, there is a qualitative difference between these three interpretations and all the other interpretations that we have reviewed in the course of this volume. Normally, we were able to observe a history of the editions of *The German Ideology*

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that followed roughly an "edition-interpretation-edition" pattern (see chapter 1). This meant that a certain edition led to a new interpretation of the manuscripts and the history of the origins, and the new interpretation was then followed by a new and superior edition (see, e.g., the relationship between the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition and the 1972 MEGA2 "*Probeband*" edition in chapters 5 and 6). However, the three interpretations that we are going to present here were all based on a particular edition or editions of *The German Ideology* in each case, but their fresh insights have not yet been translated into a new and advanced edition of the 1845–46 manuscripts. This still remains to be done.

The first interpretation was put forward by one of the West German "*Sozialistische Studiengruppen*" (Socialist Study Groups) in their 1981 book *Die "Deutsche Ideologie": Kommentar* (The "German Ideology": Commentary). The work of this particular study group analyzed the 1845–46 manuscripts and was based both on the 1958 *Marx-Engels-Werke* edition and also on the 1966 *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* edition (SOST, 1981: 38). For the first time ever, interpreters dared to question the traditional ordering of the "chapters." To them it was essential to read "*I. Feuerbach*" after "*II. Sankt Bruno*," "*III. Sankt Max*," and "*Der wahre Sozialismus*," otherwise it would not be possible fully to grasp the development of the thoughts of Marx and Engels in 1845–46 (1981: 39–40, 104). Right up to this day, no editor of what is now known to us as *The German Ideology* has ever tried to order the various critiques of Feuerbach, Bauer, Stirner, Grün, and so on, in strict chronological order, placing, for example, the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts anywhere other than at the beginning of the "first volume" (see chapter 8).

The second interpretation can be found in Koltan's 1995 publication *Die Konzeption der Geschichte in der "Deutschen Ideologie" von Karl Marx und Friedrich Engels* (see chapter 1). For his interpretation Koltan mainly made use of the 1972 MEGA2 "*Probeband*" edition of *The German Ideology*. For the first time in the history of interpretations of the 1845–46 manuscripts, it was argued that one could only understand those fragments of the so-called Feuerbach chapter that were produced in conjunction with the critique "*III. Sankt Max*" by reading "*III. Sankt Max*" first (Koltan, 1995: 77, 92). Until today, no editor of what is known to us as *The German Ideology* has ever tried to publish, for example, the critique "*III. Sankt Max*" in correct chronological order among the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts. Only by doing this can the chronological order of the manuscripts be reestablished (see chapter 7).

The third interpretation was published by Carver in his 1998 book *The Postmodern Marx*. In one of his chapters, entitled "Technologies and utopias: Marx's communism," Carver returns to his 1988 interpretation of an important passage from the 1845–46 manuscripts (see chapter 7). By doing so, Carver (1998: 2) was able to place those earlier findings in the much wider context of his research on how "Marx Is Changing." For his interpretation of Marx and Engels's "views on the relationship between industrial technology and communist society," Carver made use of Hiromatsu's 1974 edition of the "first chapter" of *The German Ideology* (98, 104–7). For the first time in the history of interpretations of the 1845–46

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manuscripts, it was argued that one could only understand the various fragments of *The German Ideology* if one takes into account "which words were written in Engels's hand, which in Marx's, which insertions can be assigned to each author, and which deletions" (104). Up to the present day, no editor of what is known to us as *The German Ideology* has yet tried to publish the whole of the 1845–46 manuscripts in the way Hiromatsu edited "*I. Feuerbach*" in 1974.

Only if the antiquated ordering of the various critiques ("*I. Feuerbach*," "*II. Sankt Bruno*," "*III. Sankt Max*," etc.) of the 1845–46 manuscripts, the antiquated ordering of the various fragments (I/5–3 to I/5–9) of the so-called Feuerbach chapter, and the antiquated banishing of text variants into the *apparatus criticus* can be superseded will it be possible fully to comprehend both the genesis and the meaning of Marx and Engels's "conception of history."

Our research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* has resulted in several new and surprising answers to hitherto unresolved historical questions. In this context we mention, for example, the evidence that we have provided for Ryazanov's significant share in editing the 1932 MEGA1 edition (see chapter 3). However—and more importantly—the outcome of our research also contributes to a complete reappraisal of the very nature of the 1845–46 manuscripts themselves. The general tendency of the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* since the mid-1960s, leading more and more to a full restoration of the original manuscripts, corroborates all the hypotheses of those interpreters who have all along observed "inconsistencies in the exposition and repetition in [*The German Ideology*'s] argumentation" (Chung, 1998: 36; see chapter 7).

Criticizing former judgments on the "inner coherence" of *The German Ideology* on the mere basis of textual analysis is one thing, finding proof of the nonexistence of this "inner coherence" in the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* is another. For a long time interpreters have argued that the manuscripts could not be characterized as a "complete compendium of historical materialism" and that one should not falsely attribute meanings to the manuscripts that had not been intended by its authors (SOST, 1981: 39). Even Engels had stressed in 1888 that the 1845–46 manuscripts "provide evidence of the incompleteness" of his and Marx's "knowledge about economic history" at the time (Engels, 1962a: 264).

Our research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* verifies all those hypotheses about the 1845–46 manuscripts that claim that they are essentially a "*Zwischenschritt*" ("intermediate step") in the intellectual development of Marx and Engels. Far from being a "guide to a Marxist theory of society," the 1845–46 manuscripts are full of "contradictions and inconsistencies," resulting from a complicated and prolonged process of "*Selbstverständigung*" (self-clarification) (Chung, 1998: 36; Marx, 1996b: 10). We would even go so far as to say that the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* has shown that the 1845–46 manuscripts are essentially "preparatory work" for later (and published) writings, such as Marx's 1847 book *Misère de la philosophie*, Marx and Engels's 1848 pamphlet *Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei*, and Marx's 1859 "*Vorwort*" to *Zur Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie*. What has become known to us in constructed (rather than

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merely edited) form as a "book" entitled *The German Ideology* is therefore to be regarded as "work in progress" in terms of an interpretation of the texts involved. This important finding must be reflected in any new edition of the 1845–46 manuscripts. It is thus vital for any future edition that the reader is enabled to experience and appreciate Marx and Engels's intellectual development.

How can this be achieved? Our research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* has revealed that the two historical developments that we have outlined at the beginning of this chapter can also be characterized as a line of development of "logical arrangement" as each editor saw it (1926–58) and a line of development of "chronological arrangement" as understood so far (1966–2004). However, while the shortcomings of the "logical arrangement" have been criticized by all the advocates of a "chronological arrangement," we have argued in chapter 8 that a certain type of chronological arrangement will also inevitably lead to severe editorial problems. Published editions to date that claimed to order the various fragments and critiques chronologically have always been produced on the assumption that one could identify "versions of last hand" (see chapter 8). This was particularly the case with those fragments that Ryazanov termed the "main manuscript." Former editors were obsessed with the idea that these so-called Feuerbach fragments could only be presented in the way that they had been left behind (as numbered but miscellaneously (un)related pages) by Marx and Engels in the summer of 1846. This was an ahistorical approach.

We have pointed out that Marx's pagination of the so-called main manuscript was only preliminary and that Marx and Engels never intended to publish this collection of incoherent fragments (see chapter 6). Marx's pagination was not based on logical reasoning about content, but was more than likely intended to help him/Engels identify individual pages and to prevent him/Engels from mixing up the various fragments. Parts of the content of the so-called main manuscript could well have been used later for composing a chapter "*I. Feuerbach*," and other parts of this content might simply have been thrown away. We do not know how Marx (and maybe Engels) would have made use of these incoherent fragments. However, we do know exactly where they have been extracted from various works-in-progress at the time and in what political, intellectual, and commercial contexts they were originally produced. As we have shown in our short interim assessment, already in the mid-1960s scholars were well aware of the fact that the most important parts of the so-called Feuerbach chapter had been produced by Marx and Engels while they were writing their draft critiques of Bauer and Stirner (see chapter 6).

This important aspect of the chronology in which the 1845–46 manuscripts were written has always been ignored by the various editors of what has become known to us as *The German Ideology*. In fact, the dogma of presenting the manuscripts by Marx and Engels only as "versions of last hand" has found its strongest support from the editors of the "historical-critical" MEGA2 volumes. In contrast to this, we stress that the chronological ordering of the "versions of last hand" hinders readers from fully appreciating the intellectual advances that were made by Marx and Engels between the autumn of 1845 and the summer of 1846. To our

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understanding, any future edition of the 1845–46 manuscripts must present the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts at least *twice*: once, in the context in which they were produced (winter of 1845/46), as part of the critiques of Bauer and Stirner, and once again as they were *extracted* from the Bauer and Stirner critiques and paginated by Marx (spring of 1846). Only by doing so does it become possible for nonacademic readers to fully comprehend the context in which Marx and Engels formulated their "conception of history."

However, the current editors of the forthcoming MEGA2 edition of *The German Ideology*, Gerald Hubmann, Christine Weckwerth, and Ulrich Pagel, have explicitly ruled out any "dividing up" of the Feuerbach and Stirner "chapters." In their November 2006 paper "*Die Textgestalt der Deutschen Ideologie in MEGA2 I/5: Einleitender Beitrag zum deutsch-japanischen Workshop am 24. November 2006 an der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*" (The text layout of *The German Ideology* in MEGA2 I/5: introductory contribution for the German-Japanese Workshop on 24 November 2006 at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences) they even felt obliged to denounce such an approach as leading to "partly absurd arrangements" of the text (Hubmann, Weckwerth, and Pagel, 2006). Clearly, these editors never even thought of presenting the 1845–46 manuscripts in the various stages of their production.

We suspect that the reason behind their utter reluctance to reproduce certain text fragments twice—which would then allow their appreciation in different contexts—is as simple as it is tragic. Since the MEGA2 project has been both "privatized" into the hands of a nongovernmental organization (the Internationale Marx-Engels-Stiftung, Amsterdam) and also "depoliticized" by disaffiliating it from any workers' party, the future of the publications has inevitably become subject to the goodwill of rather conservative funding bodies. Hence, money has become a core issue, leading to a complete revision of the editorial plan for the *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe* (Grandjonc and Rojahn, 1996: 63).

Not only has the overall number of volumes been drastically reduced by almost 60 (from approximately 172 in 1990 to 114 in 1995), but the content of the remaining volumes has also been "streamlined" (1996: 77–8). The latter is of particular importance for any future "historical-critical" MEGA2 edition of what has become known as *The German Ideology*. The article "*Der revidierte Plan der Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe*" (The revised plan for the Marx-Engels-Complete edition), published by Grandjonc and Rojahn in 1996, states unambiguously that in contrast to former procedures, editors must from now on "refrain from" printing any text twice ("*Doppelabdrucke von Texten*") within the first division of MEGA2 (1996: 66; Chung, 2002: 291). The lack of sufficient financial means will clearly obviate any future MEGA2 edition that allows readers to examine the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts in context.

Before we present our own ideas on how to edit what we call a "contextual edition" of the 1845–46 manuscripts, we emphasize that even by presenting the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts as a deconstructed "version of last hand" (*Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003*), readers will once again be discouraged from concerning

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themselves with those very authors that Marx and Engels had criticized in 1845–46. It is our firm belief that no contextually thorough understanding of the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts can be achieved without at least a basic apprehension of the ideas of Stirner, Bauer, Grün, and Feuerbach. Even a chronologically ordered Feuerbach chapter that is published without the critiques from which the main fragments were taken (the critiques of Bauer and Stirner) will still further the misunderstanding that the "first chapter" of *The German Ideology* constitutes something like an easy introduction to the "worldview" of Marxism. Far from being so, the 1845–46 manuscripts, once published contextually, will provide readers with a comprehensive insight into the fascinating process of how and why Marx and Engels became Marx and Engels.

Nothing could be more exciting and more convincing for those readers who study the work of Marx and Engels for the first time, and also for those readers who will "revisit" one of the works that they thought they knew well. In this context I quote from the opening words of Lawrence Wilde's (1991: 275) contribution "Logic: Dialectic and Contradiction" to *The Cambridge Companion to Marx*: "Social theorists tend to be remembered for their conclusions rather than the way in which they conducted their inquiries, but if we neglect to study the latter it is quite likely that we will misunderstand or misconstrue the former." Our research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* has shown that such a misunderstanding of the conclusions drawn by Marx and Engels, resulting in schematic interpretations of their "conception of history," can only be overcome by presenting their entire work process in a new and thoroughly contextual edition. It is important to leave behind not only the former "logical" but also the former "chronological" approaches to editing the 1845–46 manuscripts. Constructing a smooth text based on purely "logical" assumptions about contents is just as unsuitable as presenting a set of chronologically ordered "versions of last hand." Both approaches are limited and misleading, and therefore do not reflect the intellectual and political developments in Marx's and Engels's work in the winter and spring of 1845/46. A contextual edition, which presents all the stages of the development of the two authors, will, for the first time ever, allow readers to explore the ideas of Marx and Engels properly.

How to Publish the "German ideology" Manuscripts as a "Contextual Edition" in Future

In 1994, the Japanese scholar Takahisa Oishi argued in his article "The Editing Problems of 'The German Ideology' " that a "scientific edition in English" must still be produced "before any specialised discussion" of the 1845–46 manuscripts can "reasonably take place" (Oishi, 1994). However, our research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* has brought to light the fact that we still do not even possess a "scientific edition" in German. Having said this, our research has also shown that such a "scientific edition" will only truly fulfil its purpose if its content is accessible to a very broad readership. The political conflict, which accompanied the history of the editions of *The German Ideology* from 1921, and which

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arose out of the contradiction between historical accuracy and readability, between scientific meticulousness and contemporary working-class politics, must finally be overcome (see chapter 1).

In the following we set out our own ideas about editing a contextual edition. Such a contextual edition would utilize Hiromatsu's method of presenting the textual developments within each sentence and paragraph of the fragments. It is also necessary to reproduce the 1845–46 manuscripts at different stages as Marx and Engels were trying to make them into different works, namely, the critiques of Bauer and Stirner. This means in particular that earlier versions of Marx and Engels's text arrangements (such as through the late autumn, the winter and spring of 1845/46) must be rendered before any later text arrangements (such as summer of 1846). Developments in the different versions of the manuscript works are just as important as textual developments within each sentence and paragraph of the manuscripts themselves. Therefore, no "version of last hand" would be identified and no "thematic volume" would be constructed as an "end product" (see chapters 7 and 8). The work process of the two authors would thus be made visible to the reader as a succession of stages in the production of the 1845–46 manuscripts in a way that follows the succession of events in their political activities between the late autumn of 1845 and the summer of 1846. In brief the story is this.

After Bauer's "*Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs*" was published in the third volume of *Wigand's Vierteljahrsschrift* (sometime between October 16 and 18, 1845), Marx must have decided to write a critical reply all by himself. Bauer had attacked Marx, and Marx simply defended himself (IMES, 2004: 157). Marx's article "*Gegen Bruno Bauer*" was dated November 20, 1845, and it was published between January 22 and 24, 1846, in issue no. VII of Heß's *Gesellschaftsspiegel* (see chapters 2 and 4). This article must be printed first. Then, after Hess had returned to Brussels (November 24/25, 1845) with the news that the publication of a quarterly would be financially secured, both Marx and Engels started working on another article against Bauer (which also dealt in part with Feuerbach and Stirner; Taubert, 1998b: 21). This second article was a critical reply to Bauer's "*Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs*" as well, and in fact parts of Marx's article of November 20, 1845, and Marx and Engels's joint article are very similar. Marx's article of November 20, 1845, must be seen as a "first sketch" for the longer and more detailed work on Bauer that followed (Mayer, 1971: 780). Unfortunately, the second article on Bauer was not published at the time, and some of its printer's sheets were lost over the years.

However, the remains of this second article must be published immediately after Marx's article of November 20, 1845 (for a brief outline of the content of a future "contextual edition" see appendix C). Marx and Engels's joint work on Bauer had originally comprised about 16 printer's sheets. Today we are still in possession of printer's sheets 6–11, as well as the second page of the first printer's sheet (IMES, 2004: 166). The structure of the unpublished article more or less followed the structure of Bauer's article. It was during their work on this second article that the two authors must have realized that Bauer's "*Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs*" was much more than a critique of Feuerbach's philosophy. It was at the same time a

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polemical account of the intellectual relationship between Feuerbach and Stirner. Although Marx and Engels had touched briefly on Stirner when writing their article against Bauer, a comprehensive critique of Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* and of its position within post-Hegelian philosophy was still missing. Therefore, the critique of Bauer's "*Charakteristik Ludwig Feuerbachs*" led soon after to the critique of Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum* (Taubert, 1990: 57–9).

According to the latest research, Marx and Engels started writing "*Sankt Max*" not earlier than the beginning of January 1846 (Taubert, 1998b: 21). The manuscript of over 100 printer's sheets is far more extensive than Stirner's 1844 magnum opus itself, and it also closely follows the structure of Stirner's book chapter by chapter. Right at the beginning of their work on "*Sankt Max*" Marx and Engels must have reached a decision to publish both their manuscript article on Bauer and their new critique of Stirner under the overall title "*Das Leipziger Konzil*." Hess's "*Dottore Graziano*" would also have been included in the planned anthology (Taubert, 1998b: 17). A contextual edition would have to present this early stage of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" as one of the intermediate steps in the overall flow of work between the late autumn of 1845 and the summer of 1846.

Toward the end of writing "*Sankt Max*" Marx and Engels realized that they would have to revise several important sections of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" completely. The manuscript on Stirner had grown so extensively within the early months of 1846 that it dwarfed the article on Bauer because it was more than six times longer. However, it was not just because of the enormous size of "*Sankt Max*," but more importantly also because the two authors had made new intellectual advances, that they then decided to undertake the following two actions. First of all, the critique "*Sankt Max*" would have to be tightened up and freed of any surplus paragraphs. These surplus paragraphs had been produced whenever Marx and Engels had summarized and generalized the theoretical results of their preceding critique of Stirner's strict nominalism. And second, new knowledge gained while criticizing Stirner would be utilized to revise and strengthen the existing critique of Bauer. This second step became necessary in order to make the article on Bauer fit both in terms of content and style with the critique of Stirner.

Marx and Engels started their revision of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" by reducing the size of "*Sankt Max*" by several printer's sheets. The immediate cause for doing so was when the two authors had once again drifted away from the main theme of their subchapter "*Die Gesellschaft als bürgerliche Gesellschaft*" (Taubert, 1998b: 17). Although Marx and Engels extracted a total of 11 printer's sheets from the manuscripts, they only wanted to get rid of some of the content (see chapter 8). Therefore, Weydemeyer was asked to copy some selections from the text of "*Sankt Max*" that Marx and Engels wanted to keep back into the manuscript section "*Sankt Max*" of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" (Taubert, 1990: 60).

As a result one can say that even though entire printer's sheets were taken from "*Sankt Max*," the extracted surplus paragraphs (minus the sections copied back into the manuscript "*Sankt Max*" of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" by Weydemeyer) do not form a coherent text by themselves. We emphasize that a contextual edition must

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reproduce the critique "*Sankt Max*" in such a way that its earlier extended stage, as well as its later shortened stage become clearly distinguishable for the reader.

After Marx and Engels had finished their work on "*Sankt Max*" they immediately started to revise their old article on Bauer written several months earlier. By making use of new insights, which the two authors had gained during their intensive and critical analysis of Stirner's *Der Einzige und sein Eigentum*, they made numerous text corrections and amended their previous exposition at several points by using the right-hand side of the printer's sheets. While Engels had done most of the initial writing on the left-hand side of the printer's sheets, it was Marx who then rephrased some sentences and added new ideas on the right-hand side (Taubert, 1998b: 23; see chapter 7). Sometime in the early spring of 1846 Marx also subdivided the article on Bauer by identifying those paragraphs that dealt explicitly with "*Feuerbach*," "*Geschichte*," "*Bauer*," and so on. A contextual edition of the 1845–46 manuscripts must render the revised version of the second article against Bauer as an independent stage in the prolonged work process of the two authors.

The paragraphs that Marx had identified as dealing with "Bauer" were very soon after used for writing the critique "*Sankt Bruno*" as it is known to us from all the hitherto published editions of *The German Ideology* that feature this particular "chapter." At this time the critique "*Sankt Bruno*" was still entitled "*I. Sankt Bruno*," and only even later on, when the plan of writing an independent critique "*I. Feuerbach*" took shape, was it changed to "*II. Sankt Bruno*" (Taubert, 1998b: 21). A contextual edition must render the aforementioned article on Bauer before the critique "*Sankt Max*." Next would come the revised article on Bauer and then the critique "*Sankt Bruno*." None of the hitherto published editions of the 1845–46 manuscripts has ever dared to put the separate critiques in their actual chronological order.

During their work on "*Sankt Bruno*" Marx gradually crossed-out all those "Bauer" paragraphs of the revised article on Bauer that the two authors had either copied word for word into the critique "*Sankt Bruno*," or which they had paraphrased there. The remaining bits and pieces on "*Feuerbach*," "*Geschichte*," and so on were then put aside together with those surplus paragraphs that had already been extracted from the critique "*Sankt Max*." In order not to confuse the many incoherent leftovers and not to mix them up completely, Marx must have decided to paginate them in the order of their production (1–72). Although Marx and Engels never intended to publish this crude ensemble of fragments, which Taubert and Pelger have entitled "*Feuerbach und Geschichte. Entwurf und Notizen*," it forms yet another step in Marx and Engels's work process (see chapters 5 and 8). Therefore, a contextual edition must publish the so-called main manuscript after the critiques "*Sankt Max*" and "*Sankt Bruno*."

When Marx and Engels had finished their work on "*II. Sankt Bruno*," they did not care very much about the remaining surplus fragments that Marx had paginated 1–72. After Weydemeyer had taken the "first volume" of what has become known as *The German Ideology* with him to Germany (middle of April 1846), Marx and Engels put all their effort into completing the "second volume." There are several

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reasons why Marx and Engels decided to work on their critiques of the "true socialists," rather than on a critique of Feuerbach. One reason was that in their critique "*II. Sankt Bruno*" Marx and Engels had started to distance themselves from their former friend and collaborator Hess (see Marx and Engels, 2004: 135). Consequently, Hess's "*Dottore Graziano*" was taken out of "*Das Leipziger Konzil*" (Taubert, 1998b: 17). The intellectual split, which by the end of March 1846 also led to a physical split when Hess left Brussels (between March 22 and 29), had commenced after Marx and Engels had studied Stirner. Hess was more and more perceived as one of the "true socialists" (see Marx, 1975: 518).

Another reason why a critical examination of the "true socialists" was preceding any further work on a critique "*I. Feuerbach*" is the fact that Feuerbach had not published anything recently that would have justified a separate work on him. Only when Marx and Engels learned that Feuerbach was about to publish a new article entitled *Das Wesen der Religion*, and after the critiques of the "true socialists" had revealed the full extent to which utopian socialism was building on Feuerbach's idealist humanism, did they decide to proceed with their work on Feuerbach himself (see chapter 6). A contextual edition of the 1845–46 manuscripts must therefore print Marx and Engels's critiques of the "true socialists" after the fair copy "*II. Sankt Bruno*" and the so-called main manuscript.

In presenting these critiques of the "true socialists" a contextual edition would deviate from the antiquated text rendition proposed in the 1998 "*Konstitution von MEGA2 I/5*," where Marx and Engels's critique "*I. Die 'rheinischen Jahrbücher,' oder die Philosophie des wahren Sozialismus*" is still followed by Marx's critique "*IV. Karl Grün: Die soziale Bewegung in Frankreich und Belgien (Darmstadt 1845), oder: die Geschichtsschreibung des wahren Sozialismus*" (see Taubert, Pelger, and Grandjonc, 1998c: 57). In 1998, Dieter Deichsel discovered that the printer's copy of Marx's critique had in fact been produced earlier than both the introduction to the "second volume" and Marx and Engels's aforementioned critique "*I. Die 'rheinischen Jahrbücher,' oder die Philosophie des wahren Sozialismus*" (Deichsel, 1998: 130). The textual development can only be understood if the actual chronology of the different critiques is strictly established.

Only after Weerth had taken the "second volume" on the "true socialists" with him from Brussels to Germany (end of May or the beginning of June 1846) did Marx and Engels start to write the three "chapter openings" to "I. Feuerbach" (June 1846 or the beginning of July 1846). These openings to "*I. Feuerbach*" can only be understood to their full extent if they are placed in the context in which they were written. For the first time, and in contrast to all hitherto published editions of *The German Ideology*, a contextual edition would place the "chapter openings" to "*I. Feuerbach*" after "*II. Sankt Bruno*," "*III. Sankt Max*" and the critiques of the "true socialists," as well as after the so-called main manuscript. The same applies to manuscripts "Fragment 1" and "Fragment 2," which were supposedly produced around the same time as the three openings to "*I. Feuerbach*" (see IMES, 2004: 324).

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Although Marx and Engels had started to gather materials for their critique "*I. Feuerbach*" in June 1846, the two authors never wanted to publish the so-called main manuscript as a part of this "first chapter" (see chapter 5). From all that we know about the history of the origins of the critique "*Sankt Bruno*," it is very likely that only a few of the incoherent ideas put forward in these surplus fragments (paginated 1–72) would ever have found their way into the planned critique of Feuerbach. Many pages of the so-called main manuscript might simply have been thrown away.

On August 15, 1846, Engels left Brussels and settled in Paris. From then on both authors gradually lost interest in the 1845–46 manuscripts. Marx returned only once to the 1845–46 manuscripts in order to draft his "*Vorrede*." This last manuscript, which Ryazanov had apparently "stolen" in the 1920s, and which is therefore kept in the Russian State Archive for Social and Political History, Moscow, must be printed at the end after all the other critiques that form what is known to us now as *The German Ideology* (Taubert in a telephone conversation of February 14, 2006).

In the summer of 1846 Marx and Engels achieved "self-clarification," and also wanted to get more directly involved in the political struggles of their time. The latter was carried out by intensifying their work for the Communist Correspondence Committee, which Marx and Engels had founded in Brussels at the beginning of 1846 (Marx, 1996b: 161; IMLSED, 1957: 694). In this context, Marx also tried to get Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–65) to join the circle of correspondents (see Marx, 1965c: 442–4). However, as Paul Thomas has pointed out in his book *Karl Marx and the Anarchists*, Proudhon declined the offer that Marx had made in a letter to him, due to Marx's "intemperate denunciation" of Proudhon's true socialist friend Grün (Thomas, 1980: 206). In December 1846, Marx started to work on his book *Misère de la philosophie: Réponse à la philosophie de la misère de M. Proudhon*, and by doing so he finalized his and Engels's work on the 1845–46 manuscripts.

There is no reason why, for example, Engels's January to April 1847 work "*Die wahren Sozialisten*" should be taken out of its own context and then printed together with critiques and fragments that had been produced an entire year before, as the editors of the second Russian Marx-Engels-Works have done (see chapter 4). On March 9, 1847, Engels wrote to Marx: "*Au reste*, should the placing of our manuscripts clash with the placing of your book, then, for heaven's sake, chuck the manuscripts into a corner, for it's far more important that your book should appear" (Engels, 1982: 114).

At the very end of our research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*, we would like to come back to the initial hypothesis (see chapter 1). Throughout our research, we have provided detailed evidence that the new and instructive knowledge that one gains by researching nothing less than the entire political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* makes the preparation of a fully revised historical-critical edition not only possible, but inevitable. It is thus safe to say that our initial hypothesis has been confirmed. By presenting our own ideas on how such an edition should be edited, we draw a clear line between our

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"contextual" approach and earlier "logical" and "chronological" arrangements of the 1845–46 manuscripts.

Furthermore, we have shown that a contextual edition, which orders the different critiques and fragments as outlined earlier, which renders any text revisions in a manner similar to the 1974 Hiromatsu edition, and which makes use of the two-column format, will help to bring an end to the long-standing contradiction between historical accuracy and readability. Only a contextual edition of the 1845–46 manuscripts will represent a genuine source of information and inspiration to a broad readership and will also provide this readership with a renewed understanding of how Marx and Engels's "conception of history" can be utilized for their benefit.

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Appendix A

Select Bibliography of Editions of *The German Ideology*

(By date of publication)

Year	*Edition/Editor*	*Content*
1846	*Gesellschaftsspiegel* (probably by Karl Marx)	[Gegen Bruno Bauer]
1847	*Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung* (probably by Friedrich Engels)	Karl Beck
1847	*Das Westphälische Dampfboot* (Karl Marx)	Karl Grün
1896	*Die Neue Zeit* (Peter von Struve)	Karl Grün (incomplete)
1899–1900	*Die Neue Zeit* (Eduard Bernstein)	Karl Grün
1903–1904	*Dokumente des Sozialismus* (Eduard Bernstein)	*III. Sankt Max* (incomplete)
1913	*Arbeiter-Feuilleton* (Eduard Bernstein)	Mein Selbstgenuß (from *III. Sankt Max*)
1913	*Unterhaltungsblatt des Vorwärts* (Eduard Bernstein)	Mein Selbstgenuß (from *III. Sankt Max*)
1921	*Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik* (Gustav Mayer)	Leipziger Konzil/II. Sankt Bruno
1924	*Marx-Engels-Archive* (Russian edn.) (David Rjazanov)	I. Feuerbach
1926	*The Marxist* (English edn.)	I. Feuerbach
1926	*Marx-Engels-Archiv* (David Ryazanov)	I. Feuerbach
1932	MEGA1, I. division, vol. 5 (Vladimir Adoratskij)	Complete/*Apparatus criticus*

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1932	*Karl Marx: Der historische Materialismus* (Siegfried Landshut/ Jacob Mayer)	I. Feuerbach/*III. Sankt Max*/I. Die "rheinischen Jahrbücher"/V. "Der Dr. Georg Kuhlmann aus Holstein"
1933	*The Labour Monthly* (English edn.)	I. Feuerbach (incomplete)
1933	I. *Marx-Engels-Werke*, vol. IV (Russian edn.) (Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow)	Complete
1936	*From Hegel to Marx: Studies in the Intellectual Development of Karl Marx* (English edn.) (Sidney Hook)	*III. Sankt Max* (incomplete)
1938	*The German Ideology* (English edn.) (Lawrence & Wishart, London)	I. Feuerbach (true socialism; incomplete)
1953	*Karl Marx: Die Frühschriften* (Siegfried Landshut)	I. Feuerbach/*III. Sankt Max* (incomplete)
1955	II. *Marx-Engels-Works*, vol. 3 (Russian edn.) (Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow)	Complete
1958	*Marx-Engels-Werke*, vol. 3 (Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Berlin)	Complete
1962	*International Review of Social History vol. VII* (Siegfried Bahne)	Three manuscript pages from I. Feuerbach and *III. Sankt Max*
		Apparatus criticus
1964	*Karl Marx: Die Frühschriften* (Siegfried Landshut)	I. Feuerbach/*III. Sankt Max* (incomplete)
1964	*The German Ideology* (English edn.) (Progress Publishers, Moscow)	Complete
1965	*The German Ideology* (English edn.) (Lawrence & Wishart, London)	Complete
1965	*Questions of Philosophy* (Russian edn.) (Georgij Bagaturija)	I. Feuerbach
1966	*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Feuerbach: Opposition of the Materialist and Idealist Outlooks* (Russian edn.) (Georgij Bagaturija)	I. Feuerbach
1966	*Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* (Inge Tilhein)	I. Feuerbach
1969	*Marx-Engels-Selected Works*, vol. 1 (English edn.) (Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow)	I. Feuerbach

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1970	*The German Ideology: Part One* (English edn.) (C. J. Arthur)	I. Feuerbach/II. Sankt Bruno/ III. Sankt Max (Incomplete)
1972	*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Feuerbach: Opposition of the Materialist and Idealist Outlooks* (English edn.) (Georgij Bagaturija)	I. Feuerbach
1972	MEGA2 "Probeband" (Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Moscow, and Institute of Marxism-Leninism, Berlin)	I. Feuerbach *Apparatus criticus*
1974	*Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels: Die deutsche Ideologie* (Wataru Hiromatsu)	I. Feuerbach *Apparatus criticus*
1976	*Marx-Engels-Collected Works*, vol. 5 (English edn.) (Lawrence & Wishart, London)	Complete
1994	*Marx: Early Political Writings* (English edn.) (Joseph O'Malley)	Vorrede/I. Feuerbach
1996	*The German Ideology by Marx and Engels: New Translation* (Japanese edn.) (Fumio Hattori)	I. Feuerbach
1998	*The German Ideology by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Introduction and Chapter I of Volume I* (Japanese edn.) (Tadashi Shibuya)	Vorrede/I. Feuerbach *Apparatus criticus*
2002	*The German Ideology in Philological Context* (German/Chinese edn.) (Wataru Hiromatsu)	I. Feuerbach
2002	*The German Ideology by Marx and Engels: New Translation* (Japanese edn.) (Wataru Hiromatsu/Masato Kobayashi)	I. Feuerbach
2004	*Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* (Inge Taubert/Hans Pelger)	Gegen Bruno Bauer/Feuerbach und Geschichte. Entwurf und Notizen/Feuerbach/I. Feuerbach/Das Leipziger Konzil/II. Sankt Bruno *Apparatus criticus*

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Appendix B

The Genealogy of Editions of *The German Ideology*

In this appendix, we present the genealogy of editions of *The German Ideology*. The genealogy begins with the first German-language edition of the so-called Feuerbach chapter, which was published by Ryazanov in his 1926 *Marx-Engels-Archiv*. The 1926 edition can be found at the bottom of the page. According to our research, all later editions of *The German Ideology* stem in one way or another from this "ancestral" Ryazanov edition.

There are five lineages. The lineage on the very left-hand side of the following page shows the succession of those editions that were mainly constructed according to "logical" reasoning about content. The lineage on the very right-hand side of the page shows the succession of those editions that were mainly constructed according to the presumed "chronology" of the 1845–46 manuscripts. The other three lineages present (to a varying degree) mixtures of "logically" and "chronologically" constructed texts. The more one moves from the left-hand side to the right-hand side of the page, the more one can find editions, which are less accessible to a broad readership, but are increasingly "historical-critical" and thus scientific.

I also render three horizontal lines that stand for three historical events: World War II, 1962, and 1989. In 1962, several long lost pages of the 1845–46 manuscripts were found. In 1989, East European communism came to an end. Comprehensive information about the impact of these three historical events on the political history of editions of *The German Ideology* can be found in chapters 2–8.

List of abbreviations

MEGA	=	*Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe* (*Marx-Engels-Complete Edition*)
MEW	=	*Marx-Engels-Werke* (*Marx-Engels-Works*)
DZfPh	=	*Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* (*German Journal of Philosophy*)
MECW	=	*Marx-Engels-Collected Works*
L & W	=	Lawrence & Wishart, London
Progress Publ.	=	Progress Publishers, Moscow

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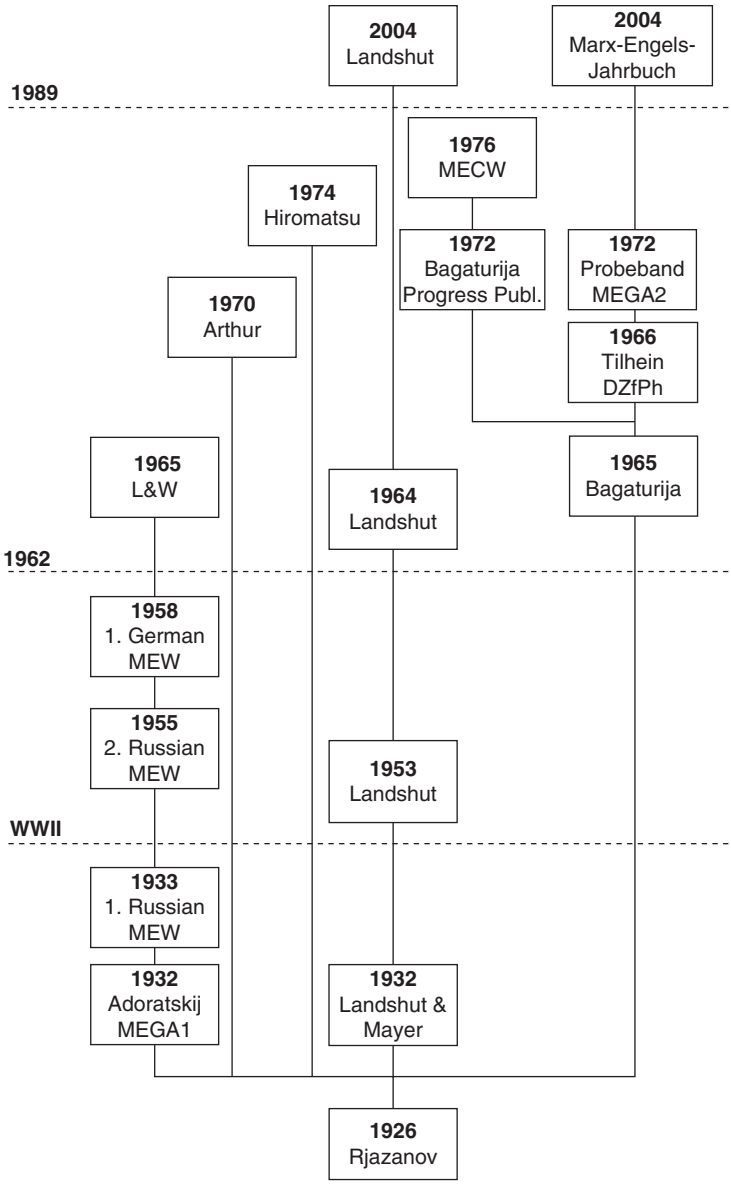

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Appendix C

A Brief Outline of the Content of a Future "Contextual Edition" of The German Ideology

In the following, we provide a brief outline of how the various text fragments of what is known to us as *The German Ideology* should be presented in a future "contextual edition" (see chapter 9). The importance of this outline must *not* primarily be seen in the proposed ordering of the various text fragments, but in the particular method of producing such a "contextual edition." Only an edition that reflects all the intermediate steps in the prolonged work process of Marx and Engels will allow the empowered reader to understand and reenact the intellectual development of the two authors in 1845–46. With regard to the final ordering of the various text fragments, we stress that further research is necessary. This research on the chronology of *all* the text fragments (not only of the so-called versions of last hand) will certainly involve the work of a whole research team.

A "Contextual Edition" of *The German Ideology* Must Comprise:

- Marx's article "Gegen Bruno Bauer"
- The remains of Marx and Engels's joint article on Bauer
- The critique "*Sankt Max*"
  - before the manuscript was tightened up ("extended stage")
  - after the manuscript was tightened up ("shortened stage"; without the surplus paragraphs)
- The revised remains of Marx and Engels's joint article on Bauer
  (Featuring Marx's text corrections/text amendments and the division of the article into "Feuerbach," "Geschichte," "Bauer," etc.)
- The critique "*Sankt Bruno*"

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(Together with some of the text fragments "Bauer," taken from the revised remains of Marx and Engels's joint article on Bauer)

- The "main manuscript" as paginated by Marx
  (The revised fragments "Feuerbach," "Geschichte," and so on from Marx and Engels's joint article on Bauer [without the text fragments "Bauer"] *plus* the revised surplus paragraphs from '*Sankt Max*')
- The critiques of the "true socialists"
  (The exact periods of production must be further investigated)
  - "Karl Grün"
  - The introduction to "Der wahre Sozialismus"
  - "I. Die 'rheinischen Jahrbücher' "
- The three openings to "I. Feuerbach," as well as "Fragment 1" & "Fragment 2"
- The "Vorrede" by Marx

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Notes on Research Methods and Source Materials

Daniel Blank writes:

In order to research the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* in the most comprehensive manner, I made use of 149 scientific articles, 34 prefaces, and 21 letters that were printed in 116 books and journals (see the bibliography). The time period covered by the literature that I have used begins in 1840 and ends with the most recent publications about what is known to us as *The German Ideology*. I am sure that the literature that I have gathered from German, Dutch, and British libraries; that I have bought in European and Asian bookshops; that I have downloaded from the Internet; that I have received at international conferences; and that scholars such as Terrell Carver and Lu Kejian have sent to me from Japan and China represents the most relevant English-, German-, Japanese-, Chinese-, and Russian-language literature.

Having said this, I must add that only a small portion of the literature that I have collected over the last few years deals exclusively with what has become known as *The German Ideology*. Although much has been written on the 1845–46 manuscripts in books and articles that treat the work of Marx and Engels in general, only 33 out of the 149 aforementioned articles are concerned solely with *The German Ideology*. Furthermore, only 21 of the books I have gathered actually carry the name "The German Ideology" in their title. This includes even the books that comprise editions of *The German Ideology*. In my opinion, only a very few scholars have been able to reach such a sufficiently high level of expertise on the 1845–46 manuscripts that they could justify the publication of their thoughts in separate books and articles. Among these scholars I count in particular: Bert Andréas, C. J. Arthur, Siegfried Bahne, Terrell Carver, Moon-Gil Chung, Galina Golowina, Wataru Hiromatsu, Christine Ikker, Michael Koltan, Siegfried Landshut, Gustav Mayer, Wolfgang Mönke, David Rjazanov, Helmut Seidel, Tadashi Shibuya, and Inge Taubert.

Another significant aspect of the available literature is the number of languages in which it is written. Out of all the articles, prefaces, and books, approximately 75 percent are in German and only 25 percent in other languages (mostly in Russian, Japanese, and English). This shows quite markedly the extent to which research on what became known as *The German Ideology* is anchored in Germany. Although

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scholars such as Tadashi Shibuya (Japan), Moon-Gil Chung (South Korea), and Jakov Rokityanskii (Russia) are not living and researching in Germany, they prefer to publish their articles on the 1845–46 manuscripts in German-language journals. The two most prominent journals are *MEGA-Studien* and *Beiträge zur Marx-Engels*-Forschung, Neue Folge. Non-German scholars have found an audience among readers of these well-established publications that for decades have closely followed the scholarly debates on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*.

Throughout my research, I considered editions of *The German Ideology* that have been published in the original German to be the most interesting and most important ones. Ten such editions, starting with the 1921 Mayer edition and ending with *The Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition, are thoroughly discussed. However, another ten translations of the 1845–46 manuscripts also received my attention whenever they provided additional information. Among these non-German-language publications are well-known editions, such as the first and second Russian *Marx-Engels-Sochineniya* (1933/1955), the 1965 Lawrence & Wishart edition, the 1965 Bagaturiya edition, the 1970 Arthur edition, the 1976 *Marx-Engels-Collected Works* edition, and the 1998 Shibuya edition. Wherever appropriate, as, for example, in the case of the Russian, English, and Japanese editions, I also provide short accounts of the history of the editions of *The German Ideology* in the respective country (see chapters 5, 6, and 8).

Although my research was mostly concerned with the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*, I also made use of several new insights about the 1845–46 manuscripts that I gained through closely examining the original manuscripts. In March 2007, I visited the Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis (International Institute of Social History), Amsterdam, where most of the original manuscripts have been archived. Here I studied not only high-quality photocopies of the manuscripts but also the original printer's sheets (*Bogen*) themselves, and by doing so I was able to find answers to several editorial problems that I raise in the final chapter of this volume. To look at this handwritten "work," which Engels (1993b: 37) described in 1883 as *grenzenlos frech* (excessively impudent), was of great assistance for anticipating and visualizing future historical-critical editions. It is still hard to believe that famous Marxist theoreticians, such as Rosa Luxemburg (1871–1919), Karl Liebknecht (1871–1919) and V. I. Lenin (1870–1924), were not able to make use of these outstanding manuscripts in their time, simply because some of the most important fragments (the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts) had not yet been published (Kopf, 2001).

I also would like to name a few of the articles that have been of particular importance to my research. Although I was not able to find any book or article dealing explicitly with the "political history" of editions, I found three short works covering at least some aspects of the history of editions of *The German Ideology*:

The first work is Inge Taubert's 1998 article "Die Überlieferungsgeschichte der Manuskripte der 'Deutschen Ideologie' und die Erstveröffentlichungen in der Originalsprache" (The history of the transmission of the "German Ideology" and the first publications in the original language). The article consists of little more

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than a list of editions, which were published sometime between 1847 and 1962 (see Taubert, 1998a). In chapter 3 of this volume, I present several reasons why the beginning of the history of the editions in 1845 must not be seen as identical with the beginning of the "political history" of the editions of *The German Ideology* in 1921.

The second work is Michael Koltan's 2002 essay "Die Editionsgeschichte der 'Feuerbach-Manuskripte'" (The editorial history of the "Feuerbach-manuscripts"). Although Koltan's (2002) essay mentions some of the political aspects of the history of editions in a polemical way, it is confined to the history of only a very small (though important) part of the 1845–46 manuscripts. The political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* is of much greater complexity than the history of the editions of its so-called first chapter.

The third work is an introduction to the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition of *The German Ideology*, written by Inge Taubert and Hans Pelger. This work provides information on several editions that were published between 1921 and 2004. However, the introduction is inaccurate when it comes to the chronology of some of the editions. Taubert and Pelger claim, for example, that the first Russian *Marx-Engels-Sochineniya* edition (1933) was published before the MEGA1 edition (1932) of *The German Ideology* (IMES, 2004: 16*–7*). This inaccuracy might not make much difference when merely depicting the history of editions, but it is, as I show in chapters 4 and 5 of the present volume, of major importance when researching the *political* history of the editions of *The German Ideology*. Thus, this research aims to be much more than the first comprehensive historical account of all hitherto published editions of *The German Ideology*, but it can also be seen as such.

In order to prepare myself for research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*, I made use of source materials that have broadened my knowledge about both the original manuscripts of 1845–46 and the historical and political situations under which they were written. In this context, I mention historical studies by Wolfgang Hardtwig (1944–), Joachim Höppner (1921–), and Waltraud Seidel-Höppner (1928–), which provided me with very detailed accounts of the political situation in Germany during the prerevolutionary "Vormärz" period between 1830 and 1848 (see Hardtwig, 1998; Höpper and Seidel-Höppner, 1975). Furthermore, I made extensive use of writings dealing with Young Hegelian philosophy, such as David McLellan's *The Young Hegelians and Karl Marx* and several standard works by Ingrid Pepperle (1935–) and Heinz Pepperle (see McLellan, 1974; Pepperle, 1978; Pepperle and Pepperle, 1986). Of great help also was the extensive study *Geschichte des deutschen Buchhandels* (History of the German book trade) by Reinhard Wittmann (1945–) (see Wittmann, 1999).

While intensively studying all the literature available for my research, I soon realized that some of my questions would remain unanswered unless I could find more sophisticated methods of investigation. I then decided to establish direct contacts with some of the leading experts. Throughout the years 2006 and 2007, I spent several hours on the telephone, debating all kinds of issues, with distinguished scholars such as Inge Taubert (Germany), Georgii Bagaturiya (Russia), Jürgen Rojahn

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(Germany), Jürgen Herres (Germany), and Ursula Balzer (The Netherlands). I also discussed several points of interest with Lu Kejian (2006), one of the senior Chinese editors of *The German Ideology*, when he presented his paper "On the arrangement of 'I. Feuerbach'" at the 2006 "Workshops in Political Theory" at Manchester Metropolitan University.

In June 2007, I traveled to Berlin, where I met with Gerald Hubmann and Christine Weckwerth at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften (Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences). Hubmann is currently leading the editorial work on the forthcoming MEGA2 edition of *The German Ideology*. Furthermore, in August 2007, I was invited by Nanjing University in China to give several talks about my doctoral research. During my month's stay there, I met with Zhang Yibing, vice president of Nanjing University, who in 2002 republished the 1974 Hiromatsu edition in a Chinese translation (see chapter 8). In Beijing, I talked with Chai Fangguo of the Institute of Comparative Politics and Economics, who is currently preparing himself for work on a Chinese translation of the long-awaited MEGA2 edition of *The German Ideology*. Whenever I make use of knowledge gained through my personal contacts, details can be found in the references to the present volume.

Last but not least, I would also like to say something about the literature I used for developing my research methodology. In preparation for my research, I read the introductory book *Ideology* by Michael Freeden, then director of the Centre for Political Ideologies at the University of Oxford. The book deals, among other things, with the history of methodologies that have been developed in order to decipher political ideologies. Freeden (2003: 5) specifically names Marx and Engels as the "developers of the product," and therefore as the founding fathers of a whole school concerned with analyzing political ideologies. To him, many of the research methods that have been developed in the twentieth century (e.g., by Karl Mannheim [1893–1947], Antonio Gramsci [1891–1937], and Louis Althusser [1918–90]) have emerged "from under the Marxist wing" and were "operating from Marxist premises" (12). Consequently, in his book, Freeden gives Marx and Engels's methodology, as expounded in what is known to us as *The German Ideology*, precedence over all the other methodologies that claim to provide insights into the understanding of political ideologies (see 5–11).

Having read Freeden's tribute, I was intrigued to see for myself if and how I could utilize the methodology, which was developed by Marx and Engels in the 1845–46 manuscripts, for my own research. My question was: does the methodology of the 1845–46 manuscripts help us to understand and to explain the manifold political ideologies that surround the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology*? In order to answer this question I made extensive use of the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition of *The German Ideology* when developing my research methodology. However, as is shown in chapter 2 of the present volume, further fine-tuning was needed in order to make Marx and Engels's methodology suitable for my particular research. While important ideas by Christoph Hubig and Quentin Skinner have

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helped me to strengthen my methodology with respect to hermeneutics and history, the writings of Bodo Plachta and Peter de Bruijn provided crucial help with the methodologies that have been developed in literary studies for researching historical-critical and study editions (see Hubig, 2002; Skinner, 1988; Plachta, 1997; Bruijn, 2002).

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Methodological Excursus

In this excursus, we develop the methodology applied in our research. We start out by defining key terms such as "history" and "political history." The "conception of history," which we adapt from the 1845–46 manuscripts themselves, leads us to the formulation of five methodological points regarding "political history" in general. We then determine the position of "scientific editing" within the recent history of editorial science. By looking at both "study editions" and "historical-critical editions" a dichotomy between the "author's last wishes," on the one hand, and the editor's personal contributions to the process of editing, on the other, becomes visible. Building on our previous analysis, we then present another four methodological points, culminating in the conclusion that "editions are interpretations." In a last step, we put our methodology into concrete terms and provide an overview of previous editions of works by Marx and Engels, and of *The German Ideology* in particular. The last two methodological points place special emphasis on questions of chronology and on political antagonisms.

Methodological Aspects of Researching the Political History of Editions

"Political History" in the Light of *The German Ideology*

Because we are following the new "conception of history," as outlined by Marx and Engels in what became known as *The German Ideology*, it is necessary to review the exact concepts and assertions involved. Once this discussion is completed, the reader will understand the basis from which our research has proceeded, and also become acquainted (or reacquainted) with the methodological innovations famously recorded in the so-called Feuerbach chapter. The manuscript pages from which that chapter has been variously constructed by the editorial hands reviewed in chapter 1 are themselves the subject of our innovative re-presentation and fresh translation into English that comprises the companion volume to this one. The remainder of this chapter then reviews a rather surprising contradiction in the history of editorial science, as it has developed, and draws conclusions from that concerning our overall intention, which is to produce guidance for a properly contextual and generally readable edition of the 1845–46 manuscripts as we have them.

Among the notes written down by Marx at the end of the so-called Feuerbach chapter of what is known to us as *The German Ideology*, there is the following

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sentence: "There is no history of politics, of law, of science, etc., of art, of religion, etc" (Marx and Engels, 2004: 99). It is quite astonishing that Marx, who, without any doubt, had a significant influence on the so-called history of politics, denies the very existence of such a history. How can there be a "political history" of editions if there is no "history of politics"? Answers to this important question can be found in the 1845–46 manuscripts themselves. And by taking a closer look at the methodology that was employed by Marx and Engels, it becomes evident why the "political history" of editions should not be researched as part of a "history of politics." In conclusion, many of Marx and Engels's hypotheses on how history should be studied can serve as a "guiding principle" for analyzing various topics, which comprise the political history of editions (Marx, 1961: 8).

Quotations, which have been used in this exposition of Marx and Engels's methodology, have been taken and translated from the *Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition of *The German Ideology* (2004). This particular edition does not rely primarily on logical assumptions as to how the manuscripts should be arranged, but rather orders the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts as separate "versions of last hand" chronologically (details on this edition are provided in chapter 8). However, in order to compensate for a few remaining uncertainties concerning the historical order of our quotations, they have all been double-checked with our own findings on the chronology of the entire 1845–46 manuscripts (see chapter 9).

In what is known to us as *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels started out with what they said was the simplest, most obvious fact, that one can observe individuals on the one hand and "material living conditions" or "nature" on the other (Marx and Engels, 2004: 107). Although, according to Marx and Engels, there is an "identity of nature and the human being," they strictly separated them at the beginning of their analysis (17). Furthermore, by "individuals," Marx and Engels meant human beings not in an abstract sense, as the general term "individual" may suggest, but something else: empirical, real, and living individuals. These two forms of existence, individuals and their "material living conditions," are the only prerequisites for the methodological expositions that follow.

However, having defined these two kinds of material objects in space, Marx and Engels then introduced the dimension of time. The ongoing interaction between the individuals themselves and between the individuals and their "material living conditions" or "nature" must be viewed, according to Marx and Engels, as some form of process. To one particular characteristic of this process of interaction Marx and Engels (2004) paid special attention. The two authors of the 1845–46 manuscripts emphasized that human beings, in contrast to other living beings, actively produce their own food. This is allegedly due to the distinctive "physical organisation" of the human being, but the two did not claim to provide any biological explanation for the fact that humans "produce" their own food (107). At this point they simply described what they had observed, and that process is what they called "real" and "positive" science (116).

What exactly happens between the individuals and the "nature" that is surrounding them? First of all, human beings have all sorts of needs. They need to eat, to

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drink, to stay somewhere overnight (where they are safe), they need clothes, and so on. Here we can find, if we follow the assumptions of Marx and Engels, the starting point of human history. The authors maintained that the "first historical action" was the production of means of subsistence that satisfied human needs. This seems very basic, and in fact Marx and Engels called it the "basic condition" of all human history. It is obvious that the production of food and other things that humans need is something that has to be done as much today as thousands of years ago, simply to keep the "individuals" alive. Therefore, individuals intervene in nature in order to satisfy their needs, which are at least at the beginning very much "natural" and "material" in themselves.

Furthermore, Marx and Engels (2004: 12–13) argued that the satisfaction of the first need, the process of satisfying it and in particular the "material instruments" (often produced) to do so, caused new needs to emerge. This aspect must be identified as a second "condition" of human history. Christoph Hubig (1952–) (2002: 11–2), a contemporary German scholar, describes the acquired "instruments" as means that are functioning as *causae medii* between the acting individual (*causae efficiens*) and the individuals' aims (*causa ultimi* or *finalis*). In conclusion it becomes possible to say that the interference and modification of "nature" has very much at the same time a significant impact on the "individuals": their life changes (it improves or declines), and they develop new needs and aims, which in turn have to be satisfied through renewed modification of their "material living conditions."

Although Marx and Engels, very much in accordance with eighteenth-century French materialism (Denis Diderot [1713–84], Claude-Adrien Helvétius [1715–71], Paul Heinrich Dietrich Baron von Holbach [1723–89], Julien Offray de La Mettrie [1709–51]), wrote about the "priority" of nature "outside" the human being and existing "prior" to human history, they stressed that this kind of unspoilt nature does not exist anymore. The introduction of human "praxis" and the "subjective factor," which had already been developed by German philosophical idealism (Immanuel Kant [1724–1804], Johann Gottlieb Fichte [1762–1814], Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel [1770–1831]) in a very speculative and abstract way, to the "perceptual materialism" of Ludwig Andreas Feuerbach (1804–1872) (and others), laid the ground for the distinctive methodological approach put forward by Marx and Engels (Marx, 1994a: 116–18).

In what became known as *The German Ideology*, Marx and Engels went beyond both eighteenth-century French materialism and German idealism. Thus they made fun of Feuerbach by saying that the perceptual materialist's untouched nature could only be found on some "recently formed coral islands off the coast of Australia" (Marx and Engels, 2004: 10). It was stressed by the authors that once the interaction between the individuals and their "material living conditions" has started, human beings are already modifying their "external circumstances" as much as the "external circumstances" are modifying the human beings (30). These two "interactions" are inseparable and should not be interpreted as different stages, whereby one simply follows the other, but as a process in which both "interactions" happen at the same time.

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The third "condition" observed by Marx and Engels (2004: 14) is the fact that human beings reproduce themselves and that generations of human beings come into existence. Each generation is "standing on the shoulders" of the previous one, and it has to deal with the objective circumstances that are inherited from birth (8). This means in particular that every new generation has to deal somehow with the "material living conditions" that are left behind or passed down by the previous one. Later on, in his 1852 work *Der achtzehnte Brumaire des Louis Bonaparte* ("The eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte"), Marx repeated these thoughts by saying concisely that "men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please in circumstances they choose for themselves; rather they make it in present circumstances, given and inherited" (Marx, 1996a: 32). This also includes the various "means" that human beings use in order to satisfy their needs. Also this third condition is inseparable from the first two and has to be understood as merely one "aspect" of the whole process.

The fourth "condition" of this historical process can be observed by looking at the interactions between the individuals themselves. Not only do human beings intervene in nature, they also deal with each other. According to Marx and Engels, this is especially the case when humans interact with nature while producing their food and other things they need. Here they work together in various ways: they might all do the same thing, they might all do different things, but working on the same goal, they might exchange their products somehow after production or they might even be forced to work for someone who later on takes the product of their work away from them. Marx and Engels (2004: 14–15) claimed at this point in their analysis that these interactions between human beings alter in accordance with the way human beings interact with nature.

While working on the manuscripts later known as *The German Ideology* Marx and Engels (2004) put these interrelations more and more in concrete terms. They discovered that the interactions between individuals and nature are expressed in the constant development of the "productive forces" (labor-power, instruments of labor, and objects of labor) that are utilized by human beings in order to satisfy their needs. They concluded that the relations between the individuals could best be described as "relations of production" (27, 113).

Plenty of examples can be found throughout the 1845–46 manuscripts, especially in the so-called manuscripts on Feuerbach, of how, when, and why the "productive forces" are either in harmony with or in contradiction to the "relations of production." As well as the influence of "productive forces" on "social relations," "social relations" have in return an impact on the development and use of the means of production created by human beings in order to satisfy their various and ever developing needs (see Marx, 2004: 49–67). Furthermore, Marx and Engels characterized the way in which human beings interact socially as a "productive force" in itself (219).

Having analyzed these four important "conditions" of human existence, it seems at first sight as if the two authors brought their analysis to an abrupt end. As a conclusion, they formulated the imperative that "human history" should always

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be studied in connection with "the history of industry and exchange." Then they wrote about a "materialistic coherence" (*materialistischer Zusammenhang*) between human beings, which presents a "history." Finally, they argued that this "materialistic coherence" exists without any kind of "political and religious nonsense" (Marx, 2004: 15).

By "political and religious nonsense," Marx and Engels are referring to a form of human consciousness that is allegedly extraneous to human history. Is "history," therefore, simply the work of an "automatic subject" (*automatisches Subject* is a term used by Marx in *Capital*, vol. 1) (Marx, 1962: 169)? On that view, does human consciousness then not play any role in history? Is human history therefore an unconscious process driven only by objective economic developments and laws?

Koltan (1995) provided a plausible answer to the question why Marx and Engels were supposedly downgrading "human consciousness" in the 1845–46 manuscripts:

> Why should human consciousness be subordinated under production? Is it even possible to produce without consciousness, could there be any development of needs without consciousness, can humans live together without having a notion of it? Of course not! This apparent contradiction can only be overcome if one assumes that Marx and Engels distinguish between two levels [or simply between two kinds] of consciousness. As far as consciousness is the consciousness of primary relations [*ursprünglichen Verhältnisse*] outlined above, it is included within them and there is no need to explain it further…It is essential for primary relations that they are conscious relations. A consciousness that exists separate from these primary relations is something different. This consciousness, in contrast to primary consciousness, is ideological consciousness, which is the "political and religious nonsense" discarded in the [passage] above. (65–6)

If we follow Koltan's assumptions, then it is possible to argue that the practical changing of "nature" by human beings, the influence of "material living conditions" on human beings, the active satisfaction of ever-developing needs by successive generations, is simply impossible without human consciousness. All these "aspects," including human consciousness, form a unified whole called "history." The term "history" (i.e., human history) has therefore been established by Marx and Engels. But what precisely would be a "history of politics" in this context?

In order to research the aforementioned two levels or forms of consciousness, it becomes necessary to do what "German philosophers," according to Marx and Engels (2004: 105), never "thought about": which is to ask for the connection between their (political, etc.) consciousness and their "material surroundings." By doing so one can find that even though the "production of ideas" is at first "immediately interwoven" with the "material interactions" between the human beings themselves and "nature"—and in fact the "language of real life"—things undergo a significant change during the course of history. This change is due to the historical process itself (115). It is the division of labor, especially the division between "material" and "intellectual" work, that has a profound impact on human consciousness. Once purely intellectual "workers" are not part of the material interaction with "nature"

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any more and are not directly taking part in the practical process of production, they inevitably detach themselves from this reality. Or, as Marx and Engels put it, consciousness can now "imagine itself to be something other than the consciousness of existing praxis" (17).

This alleged division between "thinkers" (and their metaphysical consciousness) and "practitioners" reaches its fullest development under certain sorts of production relations that Marx and Engels (2004) called "class antagonism." Here "labor" and "enjoyment," production and consumption, are split between social classes (18). The ones who enjoy the work of others are mostly the ones who find plenty of time to philosophize. Consequently, Marx and Engels put forward the hypothesis that the "thoughts of the ruling class" are in every epoch of history the "ruling thoughts." This is due to the fact that the ruling class owns the means of "material production" and has, therefore, unlimited power over the means of "intellectual production" (e.g., publishing houses, newspapers, universities, etc.). As a result, the ruling class only propagates political and other ideas that are directly justifying its "enjoyment" and which are helping to perpetuate the exploitation of one class by another. The class interests of the ruling class are, in short, expressed in its consciousness (40–1).

While the ends governing human production are at first directly related to the interactions between human beings and their "material living conditions," the interests of the ruling class are somewhat different. The ruling class does not reflect upon these primary relations between human beings and "nature," but upon the perfection of its rule. According to Marx and Engels (2004), it is the state through which members of the ruling class are in practice enforcing their rule. Since all "common institutions" are created through the passing of laws and the accomplishment of political agendas, it appears—very much as in a camera obscura, as if everything is reflected upside-down—as if historical changes are solely based on the "free" will of the ruling class alone (or some prominent members of it) (95, 115).

In an important passage from the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts *Verhältniß von Staat & Recht zum Eigenthum* (Relation of state and law to property), one that might have been drafted by the former law student Karl Marx alone, the authors outline how judges, for example, apply the law and how it must appear to them as if legislation is the only "true" and "active" subject in human history (Marx and Engels, 2004: 99).

What was observed by Marx and Engels in the field of jurisprudence can also be observed by looking at religious or political institutions. In connection with this reversal between creators and creations, Marx and Engels (2004: 116, 20) also emphasized "human interests" as a factor in history, by arguing that this "formation of fog in the brains of human beings" is nothing but an "illusionary form" through which real class struggles, based on very "material interests," are expressed.

As long as there is no "real knowledge" of the historical process, which comprises conscious interactions between human beings and "nature" and among human beings themselves, "ideologues of the ruling class" will always speculate about external "spirits," "gods," "self-consciousness," or (in a more enlightened fashion)

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ahistorical "truths" and "political ideas," which supposedly explain and justify the rightful existence of their financial backers. Marx and Engels (2004: 41) explain this speculative work, which is done by the "active conceptualist ideologues" of the ruling class, as follows:

> History therefore always has to be written according to an ahistorical measure; the real production of life seems to be unhistorical, while what is historical seems to be separated from common life, to be outside and above the world. With this, the relation of men to nature is excluded from history, and from this stems the opposition of nature and history. This view has, therefore, been able to see in history only political activities of rulers and states [*politische Haupt- und Staatsaktionen*], also religious and, in general, theoretical struggles, and particularly in each historical epoch it has shared the illusions of the epoch. (For example, if an epoch imagines that it is determined by purely "political" or "religious" motives, even though "religion" and "politics" are only forms of its real motives, then historians accept this opinion). (Marx and Engels, 1994: 138)

Very important conclusions can be drawn from this exposition. A total of five methodological points must be taken into consideration:

- History must be written according to a historical measure.

Our research aims to present specific political developments as part of an ongoing historical process in its "totality" (Marx and Engels, 2004: 29). This means that no abstract "history of politics"—which is somewhere "outside and above the world"—will be constructed. There should be no separation of "what is historical" from "common life." Political consciousness and political actions are an integral part or aspect of the ongoing "production of life" (*Lebensproduktion*), as Marx and Engels termed it (31–2). This "production of life," which comprises conscious interactions between human beings and "nature" and among human beings themselves, is the empirical and only "ground of history" (*Geschichtsboden*) (29). Political ideologies that are presented and discussed during the course of this research must, therefore, be explained in relation to the "production of life."

- "Illusions of the epoch" ought not to be shared.

Apart from analyzing basic and nonideological forms of consciousness, which are an integral part of the "production of life," our research will deal predominantly with political forms of "ideological" consciousness. Hence it is necessary to be, as Marx and Engels (2004: 46) said, smart like a "shopkeeper," who knows very well how to distinguish between what someone says about him- or herself and what he or she is in reality. This means that we are uncovering "real motives" behind the political ideologies. Our research, therefore, is guided by the assumption that theoretical struggles in the field of politics are often determined by very "material" (class-) interests of the political actors (43).

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- The impact of ideologies on history must be taken into account.

Although ideologies are not the "driving force of history," they must be explained in their relation to and their dependence on the "mode of production." Here, "tradition" is a significant "power" (Marx and Engels, 2004: 82). In conclusion, given its economic dominance, the ruling class rules through its "production" of thoughts (40). This fact was clearly acknowledged by Marx and Engels when they wrote that their "conception of history" presents ideologies as part of the "totality" of the historical process and that it is necessary also to expose the "interactions" between ideologies and other aspects of the "production of life" (28–9). The important insight that "real historical interventions by politics in history" must be taken into account is crucial to our research (35).

- Ideological and nonideological statements must be distinguished.

Nonideological statements, according to Marx and Engels (2004), can be found where individuals are directly involved in practical interaction with "nature." This is true for the "directly producing classes," but here a historical process can also be found: as long as the entire "mode of production" is "dense" and underdeveloped, the working people have nothing but a "narrow-minded" consciousness (16–17). Only the modern development of "universal" exchange and capitalist production exposes the ideology of the ruling class as a "blatant lie" (65–6). It is only due to these "changed circumstances" that the "theoretical ideas" of the ruling class are becoming "non-existent" for the "mass of the people," that is, the "proletariat" (34). The ideas of the working class must therefore be viewed—at least in tendency—as anti-ideological. However, this assumption by Marx and Engels has often been characterized as "wishful thinking" and a form of propaganda (see Geiger, 1968: 38–9; Koltan, 1995: 67).

- Neither abstract empiricism nor idealism should guide our research.

Marx and Engels (2004: 116; 1994: 125) claimed that "as soon as the active life process [i.e., the 'production of life'] is presented, history ceases to be a collection of dead facts, as it is with abstract empiricists, or an imagined action of imagined subjects, as with the idealists." An example of how such a nonspeculative "presentation of reality" should be carried out was also provided in the so-called Feuerbach manuscripts of what is known to us as *The German Ideology*. Over many pages the authors depicted the complex development of bourgeois society, beginning with the first towns of the Middle Ages and ending with global capitalism (Marx and Engels, 2004: 49–67). Here, they did not merely render a collection of "dead facts," but more importantly also provided scientific abstractions, which served "to simplify the ordering of the historical material" and "to indicate the sequence of its several strata" (2004: 116; 1994: 126; see Fromm, 2007: 3–5).

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These five methodological points are the core theoretical issues discussed in what became known as *The German Ideology*. This is what the 1845–46 manuscripts are all about, polemical sections included. Only if one abides by this kind of methodology does it become possible to talk about a "political history" without getting lost in some speculative and metaphysical "history of politics." The "conception of history," as outlined by Marx and Engels in 1845–46, presented political ideologies and actions as an integral part of the "totality" of the historical process. In his 1923 publication *History and Class-Consciousness* Georg Lukács (1885–1971) famously viewed the analysis of this "totality" as the key to the understanding of "reality" (Lukács, 1970: 77, 94, 104–5). Any research on a sequence of political statements and events must, on this view, be presented as a "political history." But how must this methodology be supplemented or altered when research into a political history of editions is undertaken?

Modern Methods of Researching a Political History of Editions

In 2000, an international conference "Perspectives of Scholarly Editing" took place in The Hague in The Netherlands. One of the contributors, Peter de Bruijn (1965–), particularly questioned the influence of the editor on an edition. In his paper "Dancing around the Grave," de Bruijn argued that "whoever takes on the responsibility, after the death of an author, of compiling an edition of his or her Collected Works may be compared to an executeur testamentair." He concluded that "in such a case the 'editor' is an extension of the author." However, if one takes a closer look at many editions done in the past it would, according to de Bruijn, become evident that most editors did not follow this understanding. De Bruijn (2002: 115) claimed that "within the theory of editing, however, the rule has applied since time immemorial that an editor does not need to take either an author's last wishes or his/her final draft into account." As demonstrated in our research, the latter practice has been more or less followed by all the editors of *The German Ideology* to date, notwithstanding their protestations.

The reasons for these divergences between the "author's last wishes" and the way an editor produces a text, oftentimes many decades later, has been researched by only a very few scholars. As one of them, Bodo Plachta (1956–), has argued in his 1997 book on methodologies, *Editionswissenschaft* (Science of editing), only seldom is it actually possible to find any direct (written) statements by an author as to how exactly he or she wanted his or her unpublished manuscripts to be released by future editors. Hints regarding the "author's last wishes" were often found merely by examining the history of the origins of the work. To make things worse, almost always only a very little is known about crucial questions concerning the place and time of text production and about biographical and historical factors that might have had an influence on the genesis of the work and its revisions (Plachta, 1997: 115). Therefore, whoever takes on the "thankless task" of publishing or republishing a text by an author who is already dead and buried might not always be in the fortunate position of an "executeur testamentair."

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Furthermore, since editions obviously have a greater influence and also sell much better if any existing gap between the historical situation under which the work had been produced by the author and the present-day life of the reader has been bridged by the editor, it has become customary not only to tamper with the original manuscripts but also to append to them all kinds of comments and explanations. The history of such commentary and explanations dates back to classical Greece and Rome, flourished during the Middle Ages, and became an integral part of all editions since the middle of the nineteenth century.

Editors in the twentieth century have generally tended toward publishing only very subjective selections from texts, which in addition would then be supplemented by all sorts of "contextualising" (*texterschließende*) comments. Although, according to Plachta (1997: 122–3), this method was unquestioned among contemporary editors in general, many controversies have existed (and still exist) when it comes to the quantity and quality of such interference. In order to analyze the ideas and ideologies behind these controversies, one must first of all look at different scholarly editions that have appeared on the market in the twentieth century. In 1997, Plachta distinguished between two types of scholarly editions; this will later on become relevant for our research into the political history of the editions in question here.

The study edition

Study editions aim at a broad readership and must therefore be mass published at an affordable price. Study editions are often not based on large-scale scholarly research, which would not only provide the editor with a thorough insight into the origin and impact of the author's work, but would also substantiate the whole process of editing and publication. Still it would be wrong to categorize study editions as unscholarly, since most editions render consolidated information on current interpretation and the assumed relevance of the text. The editors of study editions are often doing pioneer work. Plachta (1997) called these editions "interim editions," because they are mostly published before a historical-critical edition even becomes possible. It is only seldom that the first study edition is published after a historical-critical edition has been prepared by scholars. There are no generally recognized standards for study editions, but some common features are:

- The presentation of texts, which have been left behind by the author(s), is done in a subjective and selective manner. (The term "text" also includes manuscripts and fragments of text.)
- One version of a text is identified as the most important and correct version.
- Only one version of the text will be presented as an "edited text."
- No text variants or only a very few can be found.
- No account of the chronological development of the text is provided.
- Orthography, spelling, and punctuation are modernized.
- Almost as important as the published text is the commentary by the editor. The editor often provides an account of one or more interpretations of the text and justifies the publication by stressing its relevance. Here, the subjectivity of

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> the editor plays a significant role. Basic facts about the history of the origins of the published text and its impact during the lifetime of the author might also find their way into the commentary. (16–9)

The historical-critical edition

The historical-critical edition was invented in the nineteenth century, but received its distinctive shaping mainly during the twentieth century. This type of edition claims to be the most representative and scholarly form of presenting the œuvre or, sometimes, only a single work by any author to a specialist readership. The large-scale scholarly research work, which has to be carried out in order to publish such a historical-critical edition, is usually done by national institutions such as academies, archives, or universities. Funding often relies on public money (Plachta, 1997: 12–13). Historical-critical editions are expensive and thus are mostly not found in private hands, but in libraries. There is no standard definition as to what should be recognized as "historical-critical," but it is possible to name a few common features of existing historical-critical editions:

- The presentation of texts, which have been left behind by the author(s), to their full extent. (The term "text" also includes manuscripts and fragments of text.)
- The treatment of all versions of a certain text on an equal basis.
- Orthography, spelling, and punctuation are not altered.
- Not all the versions of a text need to be presented as an "edited text." Variants to the "edited text" might be provided in a catalogue of variants.
- An adequate reproduction of the chronological development of the text in an *apparatus criticus*.
- The presentation of all materials such as notes, excerpts, or schemata, which can be identified as preparatory work for the text (*paralipomena*).
- A detailed account of the state the text was in when the editor obtained it. This includes a description of the material on which it was written, printed, and so on. A reproduction of all documents related to the origins of the text and its history.
- A description of the impact the text had during the lifetime of its author(s) and subsequently.
- The placing of the text into historical, literary, linguistic, and biographical perspective. (15)

Although an interpretative commentary is the predominant feature of any study edition, one can also find extensive additional commentaries in almost all historical-critical editions. Plachta stressed in his book on methodologies that from the 1970s onward the editors of historical-critical editions more and more "abandoned" any previously proclaimed "abstinence from commentary" (*Kommentarabstinenz*), in order to provide more interpretative guidelines to the reader (124).

Any scholarly objectivity claimed for historical-critical editions must also be questioned when it comes to the presentation of the texts themselves. As has been

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shown in this volume, the chronological order of most of the manuscripts that form what is known to us as *The German Ideology* was subject to wild speculation and interpretation, even though the editors called their procedure "historical-critical." Hence, we agree with Arno Mentzel-Reuters (1959–) when he argues that editors in general take on a great responsibility, because they have to evaluate their findings (texts, fragments, manuscripts). In the 2003 edition of the German-language *Sachlexikon des Buches* (Dictionary of the book), Mentzel-Reuters (2003: 180) placed particular emphasis on the fact that "every edition is an interpretation on the basis of certain historical, hermeneutic and systematic premises."

Finally, we conclude that neither the historical-critical edition nor the study edition can be a mere reprint of a writing that has been published before or a simple, objective reproduction of existing manuscripts. The important role that the editor's interpretation and, therefore, subjectivity plays in the complicated process of publishing a scholarly edition has always to be taken into account. Even editors of a facsimile edition of manuscripts, which an author might simply have left behind, would have to deal with questions concerning chronological order and coherence. The insight that "editions are interpretations" is very important for our research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* (Plachta, 1997: 126). Another four essential methodological points can be extracted from the analysis given here:

- Editions have to be understood as "expressions of real life"

Editions are interpretations, and editors are interpreters. Thus historical facts about texts, their origins, their chronology, and so on are not mechanically reflected in the consciousness of the editor and then later on merely rendered to the public in the form of an edition. The editor actively interprets these facts and by doing so he or she uses the text as a means for a certain end. As a human being, he or she consciously chooses a certain text to be published at a certain time, in a certain place, and also in a certain way. The editor, as a human being, is part of the real "life process" and his or her edition is an "expression of real life" (Marx and Engels, 1958: 433). With his or her publication the editor actively intends to express something that is related to the current historical situation. The editor communicates with the reader through his or her edition.

- Any link between an edition and the historical situation must be uncovered

Since the way in which an editor edits a text is not only determined by the text or its history itself, but also, as mentioned earlier, by the editor's own experience, knowledge, and intentions, it becomes necessary to reveal the editor's motivations (see Skinner, 1988: 271–3). First of all, the introductions and other commentaries that are provided by the editor to the reader must be examined. Particular emphasis must be put on all statements that provide information concerning the reasons the editor had for publishing this particular text at this particular time. Second, it is

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important to give an account of the means that he or she had (and used) for publishing the text. Third, one must take a close look at the text itself. Some parts of the text might have been omitted on purpose, or the text might have been (re-)arranged in a certain way, and so on, so that the reading of the text is framed by the editor.

- It is necessary to analyze the ideology of the editor

Depending on the position of the editor within society, his or her specific (class-) interests and the ideological influence he or she is under, it is not always possible to distinguish at first sight between ideological and nonideological statements that the editor makes about his or her own motives (see the bullet point immediately above). The editor might (as an ideologue) be under an illusion about his or her motives, or he or she might very well disguise them. However, Marx (1994a: 116) came to the conclusion that any "argument about the actuality or non-actuality of thinking, where thinking is taken in isolation from praxis, is a purely scholastic question." The "praxis" for the editor is the publication of the edition. Only then does it become clearly visible whose "material" (class-)interests the editor ultimately serves—irrespective of any illusions, which the editor might have about his or her own motives. Readers who buy, copy, lend, and so on, the text and refer to it and carry out any of its messages or propagate them are the real and only addressees and beneficiaries. The motives of the editor are thus revealed in readers. Therefore, it is imperative for any research on the political history of editions to examine closely the impact of any edition on its readership.

- Editions must be viewed as part of a historical process

If readers generally share the ideological or nonideological intentions of the editor, then it will not be possible to observe a political history of editions. Certain editions will simply be republished over and over again. But once it is possible to observe a difference between the intentions of the editor and the reception of his or her edition by readers, a—sometimes political—chain reaction commences. Readers will tend to reject any publication not related to their "material" (class-) interests. The demand for a new edition will arise and debates on how to accomplish this will begin. Readers' motives will be revealed in the reception of a new edition. For this research it is important to reflect this movement as a historical process. Questions regarding the historical starting point of the political history of editions and the complicated interaction between editors, on the one hand, and readers, on the other, must be answered on the basis of the real and ongoing "production of life" (see the first bullet point above).

The Science of Editing and the Publication of Works by Marx and Engels

We conclude from the above that the "science of editing" must be studied as part of "political history" in general. A good example of how the "science of editing" has been

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politicized throughout its history is provided in Plachta's book *Editionswissenschaft*. Specific techniques for editing texts (*Editionstechniken*), according to Plachta, were rapidly developing in German-speaking countries during the 1960s. Many East and West German scholars engaged themselves in preparatory work, which eventually led to the publication of many extensive editions. However, particularly in West Germany, the proposed and realized methods of editing reached such a degree of mechanization and perfection that the "science of editing" was sometimes said to be a "secret science." Historical-critical editions became so comprehensive and accurate in every detail that the *apparatus criticus* was declared to be the "centre" of an edition, while the edited text itself was perceived to be of secondary importance (Plachta, 1997: 38–9).

This, of course, resulted not only in a growing isolation of editors in the eyes of the general public, but more importantly it widened the gap between these editions and a broad readership (Plachta, 1997: 12, 44). Plachta argued that this tendency was most emphatically criticized by editors from the former German Democratic Republic (GDR). He also added that the accusations presented by the East German scholars Karl-Heinz Hahn (1921–90) and Helmut Holtzhauer (1912–73) (1997: 39; 1966: 2–22) in their 1966 essay "*Wissenschaft auf Abwegen?*" (Science going astray?) must be understood "on the grounds of the general political background of that time." However, Plachta (1997: 39) admitted that these allegations by East Germans, which mainly criticized the hyperperfectionism of the *apparatus criticus* (*Variantenapparat*) and the orientation toward a purely scholarly readership, were not at all unfounded.

When texts by Marx and Engels were considered for publication, East German scholars often tried to find hints within the writings of the two authors as to how to publish their works and manuscripts. There is a famous saying by Engels, which served as a general guideline for almost all Marx-Engels publications in the German Democratic Republic. In 1885, two years after the death of his lifetime friend and collaborator Marx, Engels published his *Zur Geschichte des Bundes der Kommunisten* (On the history of the Communist League). Here, he provided a very clear account of who he thinks should be the readers of political writings such as the 1845–46 manuscripts:

> Now, we [Marx and Engels] were by no means of the opinion that the new scientific results should be confided [*zuzuflüstern*] in large tomes exclusively to the "learned" world. Quite to the contrary… It was our duty to provide a scientific substantiation for our view, but it was equally important for us to win over the European, and in the first place the German, proletariat to our conviction. (Engels, 1990a: 318–19)

However, it is not possible simply to argue in an ahistorical fashion that, for example, the "East" was always in favor of study editions that would be more accessible to working-class readers, while the "West" was mostly keen on historical-critical editions suitable for its scientific elite. This has been shown by the thorough study of the sequence of editions of *The German Ideology* in this volume.

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Plachta (1997: 39) himself emphasized the historical dimension when he stressed that the East German criticism of the 1960s did not find its way into the publication of the second *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe* (Marx-Engels-Complete Edition), which was published in the GDR from 1972 onward. In 1999, Martin Hundt (1932–) delivered a *laudatio* for Rolf Dlubek (1929–) and Richard Sperl (1929–), two East German scholars who had played a decisive role in setting up the editorial standards of MEGA2. The *laudatio* was published in 2000 in an edited collection under the title *Marx-Engels-Edition und biographische Forschung* (Marx-Engels-Edition and biographical research). Hundt drew his listeners' attention to the long history of Marx-Engels editions. He argued that if one looks at the history of Marx-Engels editions since Engels's death in 1895, it becomes possible to identify four generations of editors. In his view the turning points between these generations were formed by the two world wars and by the "so-called fall of communism" (*die sog. Wende*):

The first generation included well-known theorists of the working-class movement like Karl Kautsky (1854–1938), August Bebel (1840–1913), Eduard Bernstein (1850–1932), Franz Mehring (1846–1919), and David Ryazanov (1870–1938). All of these editors either knew Marx and Engels personally or at least knew Marx's daughters Laura and/or Eleanor. Hundt (2000: 11) described this generation as the "pre-MEGA-generation," which eventually came up with detailed plans for publishing a complete edition (including *The German Ideology*) of Marx and Engels's writings. Parts of the 1845–46 manuscripts were published, for example, by Bernstein (1899–1900, 1903–1904, 1913), Mayer (1921), and Ryazanov (1924/1926) (see appendix A).

The second was the generation of the first MEGA. It was led by Ryazanov in the late 1920s and ended in 1941 with the death of Pawel Veller (1903–41) (2000: 11). The first historical-critical edition of *The German Ideology*, which presented almost all existing manuscripts to the public, was published during this time (1932) by Vladimir Adoratskii (1878–1945). In the aftermath of this generation, several study editions were published in many different languages on the basis of the MEGA1 edition. The most famous and controversial among them was probably the German-language *Marx-Engels-Werke* (Marx-Engels-Works) edition of *The German Ideology* (1958).

The third generation was described by Hundt as the generation of the "first phase" of MEGA2. This generation began its work in the years between 1964 and 1975. With the end of East European communism came the end of the state-funded labors of these East German and Soviet editors. The impressive work of editors like Dlubek, Sperl, Hundt, Bruschlinski, and Miskewitsch came to a sudden end between 1989 and 1991. During the long period of almost 30 years (1964–92), two very important editions of *The German Ideology* were published in the "East": The *Deutsche Zeitschrift für Philosophie* (German journal of philosophy) edition (1966) and the MEGA2 *Probeband* (Trial volume) edition (1972).

Today the "second phase" of the MEGA2 project is under way. In 1990, the Internationale Marx-Engels-Stiftung, Amsterdam (International Marx-Engels-Foundation, Amsterdam), took on the responsibility of coordinating the editors and

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started work on the publication of unfinished and further volumes. In this "new attempt" (Hundt) to edit the *Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe*, the latest and fourth generation has organized itself on a much broader international level than any other generation before. Teams of editors are now working in countries such as Germany, Russia, France, The Netherlands, Denmark, Japan, Korea, and the United States (Sperl, 2004: 13–14). *The Marx-Engels-Jahrbuch 2003* edition (2004) of *The German Ideology* is an outcome of the work of this fourth generation.

Hundt recalled the long history of Marx-Engels editions mainly from an East German perspective and was, therefore, placing particular emphasis on the historical-critical editions known as MEGA1 and MEGA2. However, one should not forget that from the very beginning of the antagonism between Soviet socialism and Western capitalism, editions of *The German Ideology* had also been published in the Western world. These editions done in the "West" were supposed to challenge the ones published under socialist rule. The simple fact that it is possible to find several competing editions, published within two different social formations, adds another dimension to the historical timeline. The political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* is not a linear history of improvements, but a very complex history of editorial competition and political antagonism.

Two "Western" editions played a particular role in this context. The first was the German-language Landshut and Mayer edition (1932), which was republished at the beginning of the so-called Cold War in 1953. The second was the German-language Hiromatsu edition (1974), edited by Wataru Hiromatsu (1933–94) in Japan.

Adding the insights given earlier concerning the historical ordering of the editions of *The German Ideology* to the nine methodological bullet points, the methodology for this research can be summarized as follows:

- Editions of *The German Ideology* must be researched in a chronological order.

In accordance with the methodological bullet points given earlier, which stress the importance of the historical dimension, together with the ordering of different forms of development and the "inner connection" (*inneres Band*) between them, we conclude that the editions of *The German Ideology* must be studied chronologically. Marx (1954: 28) explained his own similar method of inquiry by saying that research has to "appropriate the material in detail, to analyse its different forms of development, to trace out their inner connection."

- Political antagonisms evident in different editions of *The German Ideology* must be explored.

In accordance with the methodological bullet points earlier, which stress the "material interests" behind ideas and ideologies, together with the link between ideas and social classes and the important role of the intentions of the editor(s), we conclude that the editions of *The German Ideology* must be studied with regard to political antagonisms. This research will focus on antagonisms that developed after

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the October Revolution of 1917 and reached their peak during the so-called Cold War. This means that the different editions of "East" and "West" must be analyzed not only with respect to the ways they influenced and challenged each other, but also with respect to the ways that different "material" (class-)interests were reflected in them.

All of the methodological bullet points in this Excursus thus form our methodology. All methodological points are mutually dependent, and, at the same time, inseparable from each other. They form the "guiding principle" (Marx) for the research on the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* undertaken here. Only if all of the methodological bullet points are taken into account will it be possible to present the political history of the editions of *The German Ideology* in the most comprehensive and scholarly manner.

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DFMA	Die deutsch-französische MEGA-Arbeitsgruppe. 1998. "Zur Einleitung." In *MEGA-Studien*, issue no. 1997/2, ed. Internationale Marx-Engels-Stiftung, Amsterdam. Amsterdam: IMES. pp. 3–4.
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